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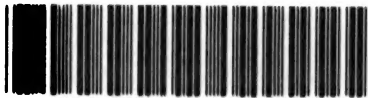
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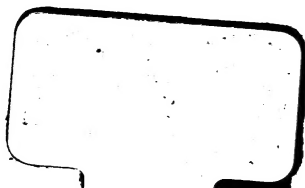
HERODOTUS  
SECOND PERSIAN WAR

A. H. COOKE B. A.





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Elementary Classics.

# HERODOTUS.

## THE SECOND PERSIAN WAR.

Edited for the use of the Lower Classes in Schools,

BY

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CAMBRIDGE.



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## INTRODUCTION.

THE invasion of Greece by Xerxes was a legacy left him by his father Darius. Some years before (about B.C. 502—495), the Ionic Greeks, who lived on the west coast of Asia Minor, had revolted from the dominion of Persia, and had only been reconquered with much difficulty. During the war, they had received help from their kinsmen the Athenians, who sent a fleet across the Aegean, and burned Sardis, the chief city of Lydia.

Darius was extremely enraged at this insult, and vowed vengeance. A fleet was despatched against Greece under the command of Mardonius, but while doubling the promontory of Mt. Athos, in Thrace, it was caught by a terrible storm and utterly wrecked.

Nothing daunted by this reverse, Darius despatched a second expedition under Datis and Artaphernes, which struck straight across the Aegean, and eventually landed at Marathon, about 15 miles from Athens. There the Persians were met by the Athenians and Plataeans under Miltiades, and utterly defeated (B.C. 490).

In spite of this second failure, it was death alone that prevented Darius from leading a third expedition in person against Athens. His son Xerxes, however, undertook the task, and started from Sardis, several

years having been occupied in preparation, in the early spring of B.C. 480.

The war which ensued, generally known as the Second Persian War, was a genuine struggle between Asiatic and European civilisation, between numbers and despotism on the one hand, and courage and freedom on the other. It was not, like the war of ten years before, a matter of a single battle, the result of which might readily be ascribed to chance, but a fair measurement of strength on both sides. And we must not forget that freedom was very nearly being vanquished. In spite of the extraordinary amount of luck which attended the Greeks, the frequent shattering of the Persian fleet by storms, and the delays caused to the invaders by the mountain barriers which opposed them, the ultimate fate of Hellas long hung in the balance.

We see from this how great is the power possessed by a single master-mind, directing all its efforts to the attainment of a single object. Xerxes, however much of a coward he may himself have been, and however unwieldy his force was, steadily pushed it to one end—the destruction of Athens. That once accomplished, it no doubt seemed hardly worth while to return without completing the subjugation of Greece, and so he marched on to the Peloponnesus.

The weakness of the Greeks is evident from many points of view. The states are torn by petty jealousies, instead of heartily co-operating for the common good; those immediately in the invader's path submit at once, and either allow him a free passage through their land, or join his ranks themselves. But it is not till we get to the concentration of the allied fleet at Salamis, after the burning of Athens, that we see how

## INTRODUCTION.

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great the danger was, and how little the Greeks realised the proper way to meet it. All are for themselves, none for the general weal. We are the less surprised at this when we remember that there was nothing like a federal union for mutual defence existing among the Greek states. The feuds of race and tribe ran very high, and could not be forgotten even in such a danger as now confronted them. But a mind that seems almost strangely in advance of the intellects of his day saw a desperate, but the only, solution of the difficulty, and by a stratagem which, if unsuccessful, would have covered him who devised it with infamy, gave to Persia the opportunity she mistakenly desired, and to Greece, in spite of herself, a decisive victory.

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The chief peculiarities of the verbal forms of Herodotus (Ionic) compared with those of the Attic dialect.

Present ...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \phi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\alpha\iota \\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha\iota \\ \pi\rho\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota \end{array} \right\}$	-εαι = Attic -ει.
Future.....	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota \\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{o}\xi\epsilon\alpha\iota \\ \zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota \end{array} \right\}$	-εαι = Attic -ει.
Imperfect	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\omicron \\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron \end{array} \right\}$	-εο = Attic -ου.
Aorist I. ...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\omicron^1 \\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\omicron \\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\omicron \end{array} \right\}$	-αο = Attic -ω.
Aorist II....	ἀπικέατο	-εατο = Attic -οντο.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίσταο Imperative = Att. ἐπίστω.



Imperfect { ἔδυνέατο  
ἤπιστέατο  
κατιστέατο } -έατο = Attic -αντο.

Pluperfect { ὤρμέατο } -έατο = Attic -ῆντο.  
Passive ... { ἐπεκέατο } -έατο = Attic -εῖντο.

Optative ... { γινοῖατο<sup>1</sup>  
πυνθανοῖατο } -οῖατο = Attic -οιυτο.

Pluperfect { ἀκηκόεε  
ὀπώπεε  
συνεστήκεε } -εε = Attic -ει.

Perfect ... ἀπικάται = Attic ἀφιγμένοι εἰσι.

Pluperfect { ἀπικάτο  
ἐτετάχατο  
παρεσκενάδατο } = Attic { ἀφιγμένοι  
τεταγμένοι  
παρεσκευασμένοι } ἦσαν.

In { ὀρμεῶμενοι<sup>2</sup>  
πειρῶμενοι  
ὀρέοντες  
ἐχρέωντο } -εω- (-eo-) takes the place of Attic -αο-.

In the Sub-junctives..... { ὑπεκθέωνται  
ὀφθέωσι  
ἀπιέωσι } e is inserted before the long vowel.

ἐπιτιθεῖ (vii. 35) = Attic ἐπιτίθῃσι.

In { ποιεύμενος  
ἐτράπευ  
προηγεύντο  
καλεύμενοι  
ἔθειν } -ευ = Attic -ου.

<sup>1</sup> δυναῖατο = Att. δύναιντο.

<sup>2</sup> συμβαλλεόμενον (vii. 4) = Attic συμβαλλόμενον.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ.

## VII.

- 1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίῃ ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν  
 Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δα-  
 ρίῳν τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως  
 κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν  
 ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ 5  
 τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμ-  
 πων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν, ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῶ  
 πλέω ἐπιτάσων ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νέας τε  
 καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα· τούτων δὲ περιαγγελ- 10  
 λομένων, ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγο-  
 μένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσο-  
 μένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπ-  
 τιοι, ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ δουλωθέντες, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ  
 Περσέων· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' 15  
 ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

- 4 Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξea,

Death of Darius,  
and accession of  
Xerxes.

ὄρμητο στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείον βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτα ἕξ τε καὶ 5 τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου, ἡ βασιληΐη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξea.

- 5 Ὁ τοίνυν Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς πρόθυμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι,

Xerxes is at first  
unwilling to attack  
Greece: counter-  
advice of Mardo-  
ninus.

ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγε-  
σιν· παρεὼν δὲ καὶ δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ  
μέγιστον Περσέων Μαρδόνιος ὁ Γω- 5  
βρύew, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξῃ μὲν ἀνεψιὸς Δαρείου δὲ ἀδελφεῆς  
παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων· “δέσποτα, οὐκ  
οἶκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους ἐργασαμένους πολλὰ ἤδη κακὰ  
Πέρσαι, μὴ οὐ δοῦναι δίκας τῶν ἐποίησαν· ἀλλὰ τὸ  
μὲν νῦν ταῦτα πρήσσοις τάπερ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώ- 10  
σας δὲ Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἐξυβρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τὰς  
Ἀθήνας, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὸς  
καὶ τις ὑστερον φυλάσσηται ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν στρα-  
τεύεσθαι.” οὗτος μὲν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἦν τιμωρός· τοῦ δὲ  
λόγου παρενθήκην ποιέσκετο τήνδε, ὥς ἡ Εὐρώπη 15  
περικαλλὴς χώρα, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἡμερα,  
ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλεῖ τε μούνῃ θνητῶν ἀξίη ἐκ-  
τῆσθαι.

*After Egypt had been subdued, Xerxes called a council of his nobles to discuss the invasion of Greece. Artabanus advised him to decide for himself, but in any case not to lead the army in person.*

- 12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο· μετὰ δὲ, εὐφρόνη  
 τε ἐγένετο καὶ Ξέρξης ἐκνίζε ἡ Ἀρτα-  
*Dream of Xerxes,* βάνου γνώμη· νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς,  
 πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρήγμα εἶναι στρατεῦεσθαι ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· δεδογμένων δέ οἱ αὐτὶς τούτων, κατύπ- 5  
 νωσε· καὶ δὴ κου ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδε ὄψιν τοιήνδε, ὡς  
 λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπι-  
 στάντα μέγαν τε καὶ εὐεϊδέα εἰπεῖν· “μετὰ δὴ βου-  
 λεύεαι, ὦ Πέρσα, στρατεύμα μὴ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατόν; οὔτε ὦν μεταβου- 10  
 λευόμενος ποιεῖς εὖ, οὔτε ὁ συγγνωσόμενός τοι πάρα·  
 ἀλλ’, ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐβουλευσαιο ποιεῖν, ταύτην  
 ἴθι τῶν ὁδῶν.”

- 13 Τὸν μὲν, ταῦτα εἰπαντα, ἐδόκεε ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσ-  
 θαι· ἡμέρης δὲ ἐπιλαμψάσης, ὀνείρου μὲν  
*who decides against the in-*  
*vasion.* τούτου λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέετο, ὁ δὲ Περ-  
 σέων συναλίσσας τοὺς καὶ πρότερον συνέλεξε, ἔλεγέ σφι  
 τάδε. “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε ὅτι ἀγ- 5  
 χίστροφα βουλευόμεαι· φρενῶν τε γὰρ ἐς τὰ ἐμεινωτοῦ  
 πρῶτα οὐ κω ἀνήκω, καὶ οἱ παρηγορεύμενοι κείνα ποιεῖν  
 οὐδένα χρόνον μευ ἀπέχονται· ἀκούσαντι μέντοι μοι τῆς  
 Ἀρταβάνου γνώμης, παραντῖκα μὲν ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε,  
 ὥστε ἀεικέστερα ἀπορρήψαι ἔπεα ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβύτερον 10

ἢ χρεόν· νῦν μέντοι συγγονοῦς, χρήσομαι τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ· ὥς ὢν μεταδεδογμένον μοι μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἡσυχοί ἐστε.”

- 14 Πέρσαι μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, κεχαρηκότες προσ-  
 Second dream of ἐκύνεον· νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης, αὐτὶς  
 Xerxes. τῷ ὄνειρον τῷ Ξέρξῃ κατυπνωμένῳ  
 ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν· “ὦ παῖ Δαρείου, καὶ δὴ φαίνεται ἐν  
 Πέρσῃσι τε ἀπειπάμενος τὴν στρατηλασίην, καὶ τὰ 5  
 ἐμὰ ἔπεα ἐν οὐδενὶ ποιούμενος λόγῳ, ὥς παρ’ οὐδενὸς  
 ἀκούσας· εὖ νυν τόδ’ ἴσθι, ἥνπερ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατη-  
 λατέης, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασχήσειν· ὥς καὶ μέγας  
 καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταπεινὸς  
 ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἔσσει.” 10

- 15 Ξέρξης μὲν, περιδεὴς γενόμενος τῇ ὄψει, ἀνά τε  
 He persuades Ar- ἔδραμε ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, καὶ πέμπει ἄγγελον  
 tabanus to take ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον καλέοντα· ἀπικομένῳ  
 his place for one δέ οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τάδε· “Ἀρτάβανε,  
 night. ἐγὼ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν οὐκ ἐσωφρόνεον, εἶπας ἐς σέ 5  
 μάταια ἔπεα χρηστῆς εἵνεκα συμβουλίας· μετὰ μέντοι  
 οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον μετέγνων, ἔγνων δὲ ταῦτά μοι ποιητέα  
 εὐόντα τὰ σὺ ὑπέθήκαο. οὐκων δυνατός τοι εἰμὶ ταῦτα  
 ποιεῖν βουλόμενος· τετραμμένῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνώ-  
 κότι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέ- 10  
 παινον ἐὼν ποιεῖν με ταῦτα· νῦν δὲ καὶ διαπειλῆσαν  
 οἴχεται· εἰ ὢν θεὸς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιπέμπων, καὶ οἱ πάντως ἐν  
 ἡδονῇ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι στρατηλασίην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 ἐπιπτήσεται καὶ σοὶ τῷ τούτῳ ὄνειρον ὁμοίως καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ ἐντελλόμενον· εὐρίσκω δὲ ὧδε ἂν γινόμενα ταῦτα, 15  
 εἰ λάβοις τὴν ἐμὴν σκευὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ ἐνδὺς μετὰ τοῦτο

ἕξοιο ἐς τὸν ἐμὸν θρόνον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν κοίτῃ τῇ ἐμῇ  
κατυπνώσεως”.....

- 17 Τοσαῦτα εἶπας Ἀρτάβανος ἐλπίζων Ἑρξέα ἀπο-  
δέξειν λέγοντα οὐδὲν, ἐποίεε τὸ κελεύο-  
μενον ἐνδὺς δὲ τὴν Ἑρξέω ἐσθῆτα καὶ  
ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον, ὡς  
μετὰ ταῦτα κοίτον ἐποίεετο, ἦλθέ οἱ κατυπνωμένῳ τῶντὸ 5  
ὄνειρον τὸ καὶ παρὰ Ἑρξέα ἐφοίτα· ὑπερστὰν δὲ τοῦ  
Ἀρταβάνου, εἶπε τάδε· “ἄρα σὺ δὴ κείνος εἰς ὃ ἀπο-  
σπείδων Ἑρξέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς δὴ  
κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐς τὸ μετέπειτα, οὔτε ἐς τὸ  
παραντίκα νῦν καταπροῖξαι ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὼν γε- 10  
νέσθαι· Ἑρξέα δὲ τὰ δεῖ ἀνηκουστέοντα παθεῖν, αὐτῷ  
ἐκείνῳ δεδήλωται.”

- 18 Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐδόκεε Ἀρτάβανος τὸ ὄνειρον ἀπει-  
λέειν, καὶ θερμοῖσι σιδηρίοισι ἐκκαίειν  
αὐτοῦ μέλλειν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· καὶ ὅς,  
ἀμβώσας μέγα, ἀναθρόσκει, καὶ παριζό-  
μενος Ἑρξῇ, ὡς τὴν ὄψιν οἱ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου διεξῆλθε 5  
ἀπηγεόμενος, δευτέρᾳ οἱ λέγει τάδε· “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βα-  
σιλεῦ, οἶα ἄνθρωπος ἰδὼν ἤδη πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα  
πεσόντα πρήγματα ὑπὸ ἡσσόνων, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα  
τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἴκειν, ἐπιστάμενος ὡς κακὸν εἶη τὸ πολλῶν  
ἐπιθυμέειν, μεμνημένος μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας Κύρου 10  
στόλον ὡς ἔπρηξε, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας  
τὸν Καμβύσεω, συστρατεύομενος δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ ἐπὶ  
Σκύθας· ἐπιστάμενος ταῦτα, γνώμην εἶχον, ἀτρεμίζοντά  
σε μακαριστὸν εἶναι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
δαιμονίῃ τις γίνεται ὁρμῇ, καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἔοικε, 15

φθορὴ τις καταλαμβάνει θεήλατος, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 τράπομαι καὶ τὴν γνώμην μετατίθεμαι· σὺ δὲ σήμνηνον  
 μὲν Πέρσῃσι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πεμπόμενα, χρῆσθαι δὲ  
 κέλευε τοῖσι ἐκ σέο πρώτοισι προειρημένοισι ἐς τὴν  
 παρασκευὴν· ποίειε δὲ οὕτω, ὅκως, τοῦ θεοῦ παραδι- 20  
 δόντος, τῶν σῶν ἐνδεήσει μηδέν.” τούτων λεχθέντων,  
 ἐνθαῦτα ἐπαρθέντες τῇ ὄψει, ὥς ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο τάχιστα,  
 Ξέρξης τε ὑπερετίθετο ταῦτα Πέρσῃσι, καὶ Ἀρτάβανος,  
 ὃς πρότερον ἀποσπεύδων μῦθος ἐφαίνετο, τότε ἐπι-  
 σπεύδων φανερὸς ἦν. 25

22 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων.

It is resolved to  
 dig a canal across  
 the peninsula of  
 Acte: description  
 of the peninsula.

περιπλεόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοι-  
 μάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς  
 τὸν Ἄθων· ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσο-  
 νήσου ὤρμεον τριήρεις· ἐνθῦτεν δὲ 5  
 ὀρμεώμενοι, ὠρυsson ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς  
 στρατιῆς· διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὠρυsson δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι.

23 Ὄρυsson δὲ ὧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χώρον οἱ βάρ-

The digging of the  
 canal: superior  
 skill of the Phenicians.

βαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν  
 σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο  
 βαθεῖα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν, κατώτατα ἐσ-  
 τεῶτες, ὠρυsson· ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδουσιν τὸν αἰεὶ 5  
 ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ  
 βάθρων· οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι, ἑτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο  
 ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω· οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον.  
 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι, πλὴν Φοινίκων, καταρρηγνύ-  
 μενοι οἱ κρημνοὶ τοῦ ὀρύγματος πόνον διπλήσιον παρὲι- 10  
 χον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ τε ἄνω στόματος καὶ τοῦ κάτω τὰ

αὐτὰ μέτρα ποιευμένων, ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀπο-  
βήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες σοφίην ἐν τε τοῖσι ἄλλοισι  
ἔργοισι ἀποδείκνυνται, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ· ἀπολαχόν-  
τες γὰρ μόνον ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε, ὄρυσσον τὸ μὲν 15  
ἄνω στόμα τῆς διώρυχος ποιεῦντες διπλήσιον ἢ ὅσον  
ἔδει αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα γενέσθαι· προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ  
ἔργου, συνήγον αἰεὶ κάτω τε δὴ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξισοῦτο  
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι τὸ ἔργον· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμῶν ἐστι, ἵνα  
σφι ἀγορὴ τε ἐγένετο καὶ πρητήριον· σῖτος δὲ σφισι 20  
πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀղηλεσμένος.

- 24 Ὡς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλεόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλο-  
The canal quite unnecessary: simply a monument of Xerxes' power. φροσύνης εἵνεκα αὐτὸ Ἐέρξης ὀρύσσειν  
 ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι  
 καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρεὼν γὰρ  
 μηδὲνα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, 5  
 ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο  
 τριήρεας πλείν· ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι  
 τοῖτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ  
 τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

*Leaving Susa, Xerxes marched with his army to Sardis.*

- 33 Οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς  
The bridging of the Hellespont. Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σησ-  
 τοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχέα ἐς  
 θάλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον.

- 34 Ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὀρμεώμενοι  
 ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοί-



νικᾶς, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίην Αἰγύπτιοι· ἔστι δὲ  
ἐπὶ στάδιαι εἰς Ἀβύδου ἐκ τὴν ἀπαντίον.

88 Καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένον τοῦ πόρου, ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν  
μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ  
διέλυσε· ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Πέρσης, δεινὰ  
παιεόμενος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε  
τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάλιστα πλῆγας, 5  
καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδῶν ζεύγος. πῶς δὲ  
ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στείγας ἅμα τοῖτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στί-  
βοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἀπετέλλετο δὲ ὡς βασιζο-  
ντας λόγειν βίβραρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· «ὦ περὶ  
ἴδιον, δεσπότης τοῖς δίκῃ ἐπιτεθεῖ τῆδε, ὅτι μὴ πᾶς  
κῆρας οὐδὲν πρὸς δαίμονα ἔδικον παθόν· καὶ βασι-  
λεὺς μὲν Πέρσης διαβήσεται σε, ἦν τε σὺ γε βασιλεὺς  
ἦν τε μὴ· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδὲς ἀνθρώπων  
θίει, ὥς ὅντι δουλοῦν τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ παραμῆναι» τὴν  
τε δὴ θαλάσσαν ἀπέτελλετο τοῖτοισι ζήμιον, καὶ τῶν  
δεσποτέρων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπαρκαῖν πᾶς  
κεφαλῆς.

89 Ἦν δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γαβυρίων κατασκευάσαντες καὶ τὰ  
περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αἱ τε χεραὶ περὶ τὰ  
στύματα τῆς θαλάσσης (ὡς τῆς ῥήχης  
αἰετοὶ ἀπομύθοντες ἵνα μὴ πᾶσιπλοῦναι τὰ  
στύματα τοῦ Ἰονίου πελάγους) καὶ αὕτη ἡ θύμῃς παρελθὼς 5  
παρὰ τῆς ἡγέλης· ἐπὶ αὐτῇς ρυμμένους, ἅμα τῷ ἔργῳ  
παρὰ τῶν ἡγετῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἡγετῶν ἡγετῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀργεῖον ἡγετῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἴλιον ἐλπίσαντες  
τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰονίου ἔργῳ ἡγετῶν ἦν, καὶ ἐπεπεφύκει  
ἐργῶν, καὶ τὰ τε τὰ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἡγετῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν

ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων· λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων· πυθόμενος <sup>15</sup> δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

- 38 Ὡς δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιὴν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς  
 Pythius requests Xerxes to allow  
 one of his sons to  
 stay behind. καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα  
 ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ  
 Ξέρξῃα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας  
 ἂν τι τεῦ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἑλαφρὸν τυγ-  
 χάνει ἔὼν ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον.” Ξέρξης  
 δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρήσασθαι ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη  
 τε ὑπουργήσῃ καὶ διαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε· ὅτεν δέοιτο· ὁ  
 δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσύνσας τάδε· “ὦ  
 δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἔόντες πέντε, καὶ <sup>10</sup>  
 σφεαὶ καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε  
 ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτεῖρας, τῶν μοι παίδων ἓνα παρά-  
 λυσον τῆς στρατιῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε  
 ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἡ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσ- <sup>15</sup>  
 σερας ἄγευ ἅμα σείωντῶ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστή-  
 σειας ὀπίσω.”

- 40 Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήλ-  
 ὁ στρατός· ἡγήοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ  
 Description of the  
 order of march  
 from Sardis—the  
 forces that march-  
 ed before Xerxes. σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ  
 δὲ τουτοὺς στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀνα-  
 μιξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερῃμίσεος <sup>5</sup>

νικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίην Αἰγύπτιοι· ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον.

- 35 Καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένον τοῦ πόρου, ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκείνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε· ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, 5 καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἦδη δὲ ἤκουσα ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίζοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον· ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὧν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα· “ὦ πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδί- 10 κησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν· καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἦν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ” τὴν τε δὴ θάλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιοῦν, καὶ τῶν 15 ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς.

- 37 Ὡς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος, (οἳ τῆς ῥηχίης εἶνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν ἵνα μὴ ἰμπληθῇ τὰ 5 στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος,) καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεποιημένη ἀγγελτο· ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὥρματο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβύδον. ὥρμημένῳ δέ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανῆς ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίης τε τὰ μάλιστα· ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ 10

The bridges are broken down by a storm: Xerxes scourges the Hellespont.  
The army marches from Sardis to Abydos: Eclipse of the sun.

ἐγένετο· ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς μάγους τὸ θέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα; οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἔκλειψιν τῶν πολίων· λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων· πυθόμενος <sup>15</sup> δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν.

38 Ὡς δ' ἐξήλανε τὴν στρατιήν, Πύθιος ὁ Λυδὸς

*Pythius requests Xerxes to allow one of his sons to stay behind.*

καταρρωδήσας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φάσμα ἐπαρθείς τε τοῖσι δωρήμασι, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Ξέρξῃα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, χρήσας ἂν τι τεῷ βουλοίμην τυχεῖν, τὸ σοὶ μὲν ἐλαφρὸν τυγ- <sup>5</sup> χάνει ἔον ὑπουργῆσαι, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα γενόμενον.” Ξέρξης δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων μιν χρητῆσιν ἢ τὸ ἐδεήθη, ἔφη τε ὑπουργήσῃ καὶ διαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε· ὅτεν δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ταῦτα ἤκουσε, ἔλεγε θαρσύνοντας τάδε· “ὦ δέσποτα, τυγχάνουσί μοι παῖδες ἔοντες πέντε, καὶ <sup>10</sup> σφεαὶ καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἅμα σοὶ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα· σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμὲ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίης ἤκοντα οἰκτεῖρας, τῶν μοι παίδων ἓνα παρά- λυσον τῆς στρατηγῆς τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τε ἐμεῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἢ μελεδωνός· τοὺς δὲ τέσ- <sup>15</sup> σερας ἄγευ ἅμα σεωντῷ· καὶ πρήξας τὰ νοεῖς νοστή- σεις ὀπίσω.”

40 Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο, μετὰ ταῦτα διεξήγε

*Description of the order of march from Sardis—the forces that marched before Xerxes.*

ὁ στρατός· ἡγήοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀνα- μίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις <sup>5</sup>

ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο· καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεῖ. προηγεῖντο μὲν δὴ ἱππότες χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ, αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι 10 καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὥς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς τῷ ὀνόματι ἔστι Νίσαιον· τοὺς ὧν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέ- 15 τακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ· ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος, ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει· τούτου δὲ ὅπισθεν αὐτὸς Ἑρέτης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβέβηκε δέ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ ὀνόματι 20 ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὅτάνω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

41 Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ἑρέτης· μετεκβαί-

The forces that  
marched after Xer-  
xes.

νεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθεν αἰχμοφόροι, Περσέων οἱ ἀριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι, χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας 5 ἔχοντες· μετὰ δὲ, ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον, ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ῥοιᾶς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ περίεξ συνεκλήϊον τοὺς ἄλλους. 10 οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἐόντες ἀργυρέας ῥοιᾶς εἶχον. (εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ῥοιᾶς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι

Ξέρξης.) τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων  
 μυρὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διέλειπε καὶ δύο σταδίους, 15  
 καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ λοιπὸς ὁμιλος ἦτε ἀναμίξ.

- 43 Ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς  
 Xerxes visits Troy, πρῶτος ποταμῶν ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων  
 and performs a sacrifice to Athe- ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρησαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε  
 na. τὸ ῥέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τε  
 καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποτα- 5  
 μὸν ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη,  
 ἱμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος  
 κείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βούς  
 χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ οἱ μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο· ταῦτα  
 δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 10  
 ἐνέπεσε· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν, ἐν ἀριστερῇ  
 μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν καὶ Ὀφρύνειον καὶ Δάρδα-  
 νον, ἥπερ δὴ Ἀβύδω ὁμουρός ἐστι, ἐν δεξιῇ δὲ Γέρ-  
 γιθας Τευκρούς.

- 44 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδω, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης  
 Xerxes reviews his ιδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ προ-  
 army. επεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες  
 αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ· ἐποίησαν δὲ  
 Ἀβυδηνοὶ, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος· ἐνθαῦτα 5  
 ὡς ἕζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν  
 καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν  
 γινομένην ιδέσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοί-  
 νικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ·

- 45 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑπὸ τῶν  
 He weeps at the νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκ-  
 sight: Artabanus enquires the rea- τὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδιά ἐπίπλεα  
 son of his tears.

ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωντὸν ἐμακάρισε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε.

- 46 Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτριος, ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξη στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὗτος ὠνὴρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα εἶρετο τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὥς πολὺ ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαιο νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῃ πρό- 5 τερον; μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωντὸν δακρύεις” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὥς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· “ἕτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκ- 10 τρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτῳ βραχεῖ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτῳ ἀνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζοῖν· αἱ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσ- 15 πίπτουσαι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσιν καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον· οὕτῳ ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐών.”

- 54 Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρασκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν Before crossing, Xerxes offers libations to the sun. διάβασιν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον, ἐθέλοντες ἰδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν· ὥς δ' 5 ἐπανέτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέ-

ψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι  
ἐκείνης γένηται· εὐξάμενος δὲ, ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς 10  
τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν  
ξίφος τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως  
διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεῖς κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλα-  
γος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώ-  
σαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. 15

55 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεκοίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν  

 The passage of the  
 Hellespont, which  
 occupies seven  
 days.
 
 ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόν-  
 του ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ  
 ἡ θεραπεία· ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μῦριοι Πέρσαι 5  
 ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος  
 στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην  
 οὔτοι· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ  
 τὰς λόγχας κάτω τρέποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὔτοι· 10  
 μετὰ δὲ, οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρόν· ἐπὶ  
 δὲ, αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι, καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ  
 χίλιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός· καὶ αἱ νῆες  
 ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὴ ἤκουσα καὶ  
 ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων.

56 Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηέτο  
 τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα· διέβη δὲ ὁ  
 στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι,  
 ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη  
 διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλ- 5  
 λησπόντιον· “ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ  
 οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ  
 ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῇν τοι ποιέειν ταῦτα.”



60 Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρείχον πλήθος ἐς ἀριθμὸν,  
 οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται  
 πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων· σύμπαντος δὲ  
 τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρό- 5  
 πον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων,  
 καὶ συνάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραφαν  
 ἔξωθεν κύκλον· περιγράψαντες δὲ, καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς  
 μυρίους, αἵμασι τὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον ὕψος  
 ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλὸν, ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, 10  
 ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιουικοδομημένον· μέχρις οὐ  
 πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν· ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ  
 κατὰ ἔθνη διέτασσον.

100 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡρίθμησέ τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρα-  
 τὸς, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελάσας  
 θεήσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ἐποίει ταῦτα, καὶ  
 διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν  
 ἕκαστον, ἐπυνθάνετο· καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί· 5  
 ἕως ἐξ ἰσχάτων ἐς ἰσχάτα ἀπίκετο καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ  
 τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποίητο, τῶν νεῶν κατελ-  
 κυσθισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης μετεκβάς  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἔζετο ὑπὸ σκηπῇ  
 χρυσῇ· καὶ παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, 10  
 ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἑκάστας ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ ἀπογρα-  
 φόμενος· τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε  
 τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς  
 πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξο-  
 πλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν 15  
 πρῳρέων πλέων ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

*Xerxes and his army marched through Thrace, crossed the Strymon, and arrived at Therma in Pieria; the fleet meanwhile passed through the canal and coasted along, anchoring at Therma, to wait for the army.*

- 131 Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς·  
Halt of the army at Pieria. Return of the heralds from Greece. τὸ γὰρ δὴ οὖρος τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἔκειρε τῆς στρατιῆς τριτημορις, ἵνα ταύτῃ διεξήλθῃ αἴπαντα ἡ στρατιὴ εἰς Περραιβοὺς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν ἀπικέατο· οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

- 132 Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὕδε· Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Ἐνιῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Δοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μηλιεῖς, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιώται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τοῦ-  
Names of the Greeks who gave earth and water the oath of the rest against them. τοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον αἰεράμενοι· τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· “ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφεας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες εἶντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφι εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ” τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε  
10 εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

- 133 Ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε ὁ Πέρσης ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκα· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐκ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας εἰς τὸ βάραθρον οἱ δὲ εἰς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασι-  
5 λέα· τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτή-  
10 σοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ταῦτα ποιήσασι.

τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκε ἀνεβέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηϊώθη· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι. 10

138 Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλείος οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν πεισό- 5 μνοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως. 10

140 Πέμπσαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρό-  
 The Athenians had sent to en-  
 quire of Apollo at  
 Delphi: his unfavourable reply.  
 πους, χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι· καὶ σφί ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, 5  
 χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίῃ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη τάδε 5

ὦ μέλειοι, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεύγ' ἔσχατα γαίης δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα, οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὐτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἄζηλα πέλει· κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρείπει 10 πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἀρης Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων. πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον· πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερώ πυρὶ δώσει, οἳ που νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεούμενοι ἐστήκασι, δειματι παλλόμενοι· κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις δρόφοισι 15 αἷμα μέλαν κέχυνται, προῖδὸν κακότητος ἀνάγκας. ἀλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτου, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμὸν.

- 141 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι  
 συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωντο· προβάλ-  
 λουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ  
 τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,  
 τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, συνε- 5  
 βούλευέ σφι ἱκετηρίην λαβοῦσι, δεύτερα αὖτις ἐλθόντας  
 χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας· πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα  
 τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· “ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν  
 ἄμεινόν τι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς ἱκετηρίας  
 τάσδε τὰς τοι ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμὲν ἐκ τοῦ 10  
 ἀδύτου, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ’ ἂν καὶ τελευτή-  
 σωμεν.” ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα  
 τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δι’ Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,  
 λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ. 15  
 σοὶ δὲ τόδ’ αὖτις ἔπος ἐρέω, Ἀδάμαντι πελάσσας·  
 τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος  
 ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμῶν τε Κιθαιρώος ζαθέοιο,  
 τεῖχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσκα Ζεὺς 20  
 μῶνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ’ ὀνήσει.  
 μὴδὲ σύ γ’ ἱπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα  
 πολλὸν ἀπ’ ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ’ ὑποχωρεῖν  
 νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοι κοτὲ κἀντίος ἔσση.  
 ὦ θείη Σαλαμὶς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
 ἢ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος, ἢ συνιούσης. 25

- 142 Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ  
 ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραφάμενοι ἀπαλλάσ-  
 σοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες  
 οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον,  
 γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζή- 5

with somewhat  
 better success, but  
 cannot agree on  
 the exact meaning  
 of the answer.

μένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μέτεξέτεροι, δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῶ ἐπέφρακτο· οἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον <sup>10</sup> τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης·

15

ὦ θείη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν,  
ἡ που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτη ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας <sup>20</sup> ἐσσωθῆναι, ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

143 Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ

Themistocles' interpretation of the term 'wooden wall.'

παριῶν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλέος ἐκαλέετο· οὗτος ὦν ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους <sup>5</sup> εἶχε τὸ πάθος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ᾧδε· ᾧ σχετλίῃ Σαλαμῖς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾧ θείῃ Σαλαμῖς· εἶπερ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσκειν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρήσθαι τὸ χρηστήριον, συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ <sup>10</sup> ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους, παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχίοντας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἐόν-

τος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀπο-  
 φαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα  
 εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων· οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμα- 15  
 χίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι, οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταεί-  
 ρεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην·  
 τινὰ οἰκίζειν.

*By the advice of Alexander of Macedon the Greeks, who had  
 at first intended to defend Thessaly by garrisoning  
 Tempe, retired from that post, finding it could be turned  
 in flank.*

- 175 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκατο ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν,  
 ἐβουλευόντο πρὸς τὰ λεχθέντα ἐξ Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρου, ἧ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον καὶ  
 ἐν οἴοισι χώροισι· ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη  
 ἐγένετο, τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι· στει- 5  
 νοτέρῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία,  
 ἀγχοτέρῃ τε τῆς ἐωυτῶν· τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν δι' ἣν ἤλυσαν  
 οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν  
 εἶναι πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύ- 10  
 θοντο Τρηχινίων· ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλευσάντο φυλάσσειν-  
 τες τὴν ἐσβολὴν, μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν  
 βάρβαρον· τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς  
 Ἰσθμιαυτίδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε  
 ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρους  
 ὄντα.

*The Persian fleet arrived off Magnesia.*

- 188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθεὶς ἐπλεε,  
 καὶ κατέσχε τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐς  
 τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε  
 πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς, αἱ μὲν  
 δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὤρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἅλλαι δ' ἐπ' 5  
 ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ  
 μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὀρμέοντο ἐς πόντον, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ  
 νέας· ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω, ἐξ  
 αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσέ  
 σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν 10  
 δὴ Ἑλλησποντίνην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα χωρία οἰκη-  
 μένοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνε-  
 μον καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν  
 χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν  
 καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, 15  
 τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν  
 Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν· αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν  
 Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ  
 δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο· ἦν τε τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 χρῆμα ἀφόρητον.

- 190 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι δια-  
 φθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρας τε ἀνα-  
 ριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἀφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμει-  
 νοκλείῃ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι, γηοχέοντι περὶ  
 Σηπιάδα, μεγάλως ἡ ναυηγίῃ ἐγένετο χρηστή· ὥς 5  
 πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσό-

μενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα· θησαυρούς τε τῶν Περσέων εὔρε, ἅλλα τε χρύσεια ἄφατα χρήματα περιβάλλετο. (ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων, εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις 10 συμφορὴ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος.)

- 191 Σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμός· ὥστε δέισαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ μή σφι κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναπηγίων περιβάλοντο· ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ, 5 ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταειδόντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς τε τούτοισι καὶ τῇ Θέτι καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐδι θύοντες, ἔπαυσαν τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ· ἢ ἄλλως κως αὐτοὺς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε· τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθυσον, πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασ- 10 θείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπαντα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπτιάς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων· ὁ μὲν δὲ τετάρτη ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο.

- 201 Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ· οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες, Advances of the Persian army to Thermopylae: the Greeks are ready to resist it. ἐν τῇ διόδῳ· (καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πε- 5 ριοίκων Πύλαι.) ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νῦν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων, τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. 10

- 202 Ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ



The names of the Greek cities who sent contingents to Thermopylae: the whole force is under Leonidas the Spartan.

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται. καὶ Τεγεγέτων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων· ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκάδων· ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι· καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιούντος διηκόσιοι· καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν, Θεσπιέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι.

203 Πρὸς τούτοις ἐπικλήτοι ἐγένοντο Λοκροί τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας ἐπεκαλέσαντο αἱ Ἕλληνες, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων προσδόκιμοι πάσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἢ θάλασσαν. τέ σφι εἶη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἶη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα, οὐδὲ ἔσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη· τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα· ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἐόντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσέειν ἄν· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθηον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα.

204 Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστων· ὁ δὲ θωμαζόμενος μάλιστα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεόμενος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδης.

206 Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμ-

The occurrence of the Olympian festival prevents the cities from sending more men to Thermopylae.

ψαν Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρατεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἣν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνονται ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ 5

σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν, ἐμελλον ὀρτάσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, κατὰ τάχος βοηθέειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνεκῶντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τῶντὸ Ὀλυμπιάς τούτοις τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁκνέοντες 10 κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

- 207 Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενεκῶντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες, ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς· τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· 5 Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθέειν, ὥς ὄντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τῶν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι.

- 208 Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέν, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατὰ σκοπὸν ἵππεά, ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιεοίεν ; ἀκηκόεε δὲ ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἀλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν 5 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων γένος Ἡρακλείδης· ὥς δὲ προσέλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθηείτο τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνὸρ-

Astonishment of Xerxes at finding so few men to meet him, and at their boldness. Demaratus tries to explain the reason.

θώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· 10  
 ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἕξω ἐμάνθανε τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα  
 ἔκειτο· ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕξω  
 τεταγμένοι· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους· ταῦτα δὴ θεώ-  
 μενος ἐθώμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐμάνθανε, μαθὼν δὲ 15  
 πάντα ἀτρεκέως ἀπήλαυνε ἀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε  
 γάρ τις ἐδίωκε ἀλογίης τε ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν  
 δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τάπερ ὁπώπτεε πάντα.

209 Ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἐόν,  
 ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὥς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες  
 κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιέειν,  
 μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος ἐόντα ἐν τῷ  
 στρατοπέδῳ· ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα 5  
 τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθέειν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων· ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ἤκουσας μὲν μευ καὶ πρότερον,  
 εὔτε ὀρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τού-  
 των· ἀκούσας δὲ, γέλῳτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τάπερ ὥρων  
 ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα· ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθινήν 10  
 ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι·  
 ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν· οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχε-  
 σόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευά-  
 ζονται· νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι  
 κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμεύονται· 15  
 ἐπίσταιο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 καταστρέψαι, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τὸ σέ,  
 βασιλεῦ, ὑπομένεει χεῖρας ἀνταιρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς  
 βασιλῆν τε καὶ καλλίστην πόλιν τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνσι  
 προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους.” κάρτα τε δὴ 20

ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα ὄντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι ἔόντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω.”

25

- 210 Ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα· τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξήκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας  
 Fruitless attack upon the pass by the Medes. ἀποδρῆσεσθαι· πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλάσσοιτο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς 5 Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίους θυμωθεὶς, ἐντειλάμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὅσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· ὡς δ’ ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ’ ἐπεσθίσαν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνοντο καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες· δῆλον δ’ ἐποίουν παντὶ τεφ καὶ οὐκ 10 ἦκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἰεν ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολὴ δι’ ἡμέρης.

- 211 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδε-  
 The Persians try, and fare no better. ξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἦρχε Ὑδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι 5 συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλῆθεϊ χρῆσασθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγον, ἄλλα τε ἀπο- 10 δεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον

δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὀρέωντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ 15 κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου πειρεώμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλυνον ὀπίσω. ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσό- 20 δοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θεγύμενον τρις ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

- 212 Τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρ-  
Third attack, with a similar result. βαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· αἶτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατα-  
 τετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶους τε ἔσεσθαι ἐτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξεις 5  
 τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν· ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνῶρων, ἀπήλυνον. 10

- 213 Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι  
Ephialtes informs Xerxes of a path over the mountains, by which the Greeks can be taken in the rear. πρήγματι, Ἐπιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδῆμον ἀνὴρ Μηλιεὺς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι· ἔφρασε 5  
 τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὖρεος φέ-  
 ρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπο-  
 μέναντας Ἕλληνας. ὕστερον δὲ δέισας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην· καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλα-  
 γόρων (τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομέ-

νων) ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε 10  
 γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω ἀνδρὸς  
 Τρηχινίου· οὗ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιάλ-  
 τεα δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι  
 σημανέω· ἐτιμήθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν  
 ἦσσαν. Ἐπιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. 15

- 215 Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρесе τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιάλτης  
 κατεργάσασθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρῆς γενό-  
 μενος ἔπεμπε Ὑδάρνεα, καὶ τῶν ἑστρα-  
 τήγες Ὑδάρνης· ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχνων  
 ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτρα- 5  
 πὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι  
 Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγγήσαντο ἐπὶ  
 Φωκέας τότε, ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράξαντες τείχεϊ τὴν ἐσβο-  
 λὴν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκ τε τόσου δὴ κατε-  
 δέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι. 10

- 217 Κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν οἱ  
 Πέρσαι τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν  
 νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὖρεα τὰ Οἰταίων ἐν ἀρι-  
 στερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο  
 ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος 5  
 ἐφύλασσαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκῆων  
 χίλιοι ὀπλῖται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ  
 φρουρέοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ  
 ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηται· τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος  
 ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύ- 10  
 λασσαν.

- 218 Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας οἱ Φωκέες ὥδε ἀναβεβηκότας·  
 ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὖρος πᾶν

ἐὸν δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον· ἦν μὲν δὴ νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ γινο-  
 μένου πολλοῦ ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ  
 τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες καὶ ἔδυντο τὰ 5  
 ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν· ὥς δὲ εἶδον  
 ἄνδρας ἐνδουμένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο· ἐλπό-  
 μενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν ἐνεκύρησαν  
 στρατῷ· ἐνθαῦτα Ὑδάρνης καταρρωδήσας μὴ οἱ Φωκέες  
 ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτεα ποδαπὸς εἷη 10  
 ὁ στρατός; πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς  
 Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην· οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβάλλοντο τοῖσι  
 τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ σφέας  
 ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὥς ἀπολεόμενοι· 15  
 οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ  
 Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῖντο,  
 οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

- 222 Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀποπεμπόμενοι οἷχοντό  
 τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ· Θε-  
 σπιέες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μῦνοι  
 παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοισι· τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι  
 μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γάρ 5  
 σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος· Θεσπιέες  
 δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνί-  
 δην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταμεί-  
 ναντες συναπέθανον· ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν Δημόφίλος  
 Διαδρόμεω.

10

- 223 Ἐέρξης δὲ ἐπὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιή-  
 σατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ἐς ἀγορῆς κὺν μάλιστα πλη-  
 θύρην πρόσσοδον ἐποιεέτο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ

Renewal of the attack upon the pass: desperate resistance of the Greeks, until they are overwhelmed by numbers and slain.

Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρη τέ ἐστι, καὶ 5  
βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλόν, ἥπερ ἡ περιόδός τε καὶ ἀνάβασις. οἱ τε δὴ  
βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσῆϊσαν,  
καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὥς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
ἐξοδὸν ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς 10  
ἐπεξῆϊσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας  
ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὴ  
συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ  
τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων 15  
ἔχοντες μάστιγας, ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ  
πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν  
ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ διεφθείροντο· πολλῷ δ' ἔτι  
πλεῖνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος  
οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν 20  
μέλλοντά σφι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιϋόντων τὸ  
οὔρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς  
τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ αἰέοντες.

224 Δόρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλεόνεσιν αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα  
ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο  
τοὺς Πέρσας· καὶ Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει,  
ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄριστος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ ὀνο-  
μαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὥς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενο- 5  
μένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα· ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων  
τῶν τριηκοσίων· καὶ δὴ καὶ Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα  
ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρεῖον  
δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς



Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ <sup>10</sup>  
 Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν ἀδελφεὸς,  
 Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεω παῖς· ὃς καὶ ἐκδιδοὺς τὴν  
 θυγατέρα Δαρείῳ, τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἐπέδωκε,  
 ὥς μούνου οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. Ἐέρξεώ τε δὴ δύο  
 ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχεόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ <sup>15</sup>  
 τοῦ Λεωνίδεω.

225 Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὥθισμὸς ἐγένετο  
 πολλός· ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν,  
 καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συν-  
 εστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς δὲ  
 τούτους ἦκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἔτε- <sup>5</sup>  
 ροιοῦτο τὸ νείκος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεινὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώ-  
 ρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες  
 ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες αἰέες οἱ ἄλλοι, πλην  
 Θηβαίων· ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ὅκου νῦν  
 ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ· ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ <sup>10</sup>  
 χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον  
 ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ  
 βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι  
 καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελ-  
 θόντες πάντοθε περισταδόν. 35

226 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπιδέων τοιούτων γενο-  
 μένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἀνὴρ ἄριστος γε-  
<sup>Story of the Spar-</sup> <sup>tan Dieneses.</sup> νέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης· τὸν τότε  
 φασὶ εἶπαι τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖσι  
 Μήδοισι, πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς ἐπεὰν <sup>5</sup>  
 οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιδέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πλήθεος τῶν οἰστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι· τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος

αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοισι, εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος, ὡς πάντα σφι ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόν- 10  
των τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἴσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιου-  
τότροπα ἐπεὰ φασι Διηνέκεια τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέ-  
σθαι μνημόσυνα.

- 227 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
δύο ἀδελφεοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὅρσιφάντου  
παῖδες. Θεσπίων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν  
Διθύραμβος Ἀρματιδεω.

- 228 Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇπερ ἔπεσον, καὶ  
τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεω-  
νίδεω ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέ-  
γραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο 5  
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται· τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρ-  
τιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

Ὡ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῆδε 10  
κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων βήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο· τῷ δὲ μάντι, τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλειοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτὲ Μῆδοι  
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
μάντιος, ὅς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς,  
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν. 15

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος  
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσὶ σφέας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαν-  
τες· τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ, Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέ-  
πέος ἐστὶ κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

## ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ.

### VIII.

- 4 Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων  
The Greeks wish to retire from Artemisium, but the Euboeans bribe Themistocles to persuade them to stay. ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς κατα-  
 χθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς  
 ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν  
 τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε 5  
 ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες,  
 δρησμὸν ἐβούλευον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα· γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευο-  
 μένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδew προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον,  
 ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται 10  
 ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν  
 πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοις,  
 ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν  
 ναυμαχίην.
- 6 Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ, καὶ ἐναυμά-  
Plan of the Persians for circumventing the Greek fleet. χησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεὶ τε δὴ ἐς  
 τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δειλὴν πρώτην γινο-  
 μένην ἀπύκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι  
 μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν 5  
 νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι

ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ πως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐκ ὀφείκει τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή πως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλώοντας ἐς φνηγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον <sup>10</sup> δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἴδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν ταῦτα ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιαῶθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶνσαι Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν, ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον· ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι <sup>5</sup> καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρονσαν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας· ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι <sup>10</sup> παρὰ τῶν περιπλῶντων ὡς ἠκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον· τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμόν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ <sup>News of the plan brought to the Greeks by a diver.</sup> τῷ Σκυλλίῃ Σκιωναῖος, δύτες τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος· ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν <sup>5</sup> χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόφ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε· ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη ἀπίκητο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως <sup>10</sup>

θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὥς ἐξ Ἀφετείων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα 15 περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖω μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον· ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. 20

- 9 Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδουσιν· πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, *They sail out against the Persians,* ἐνίκα, τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντας τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας, πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περι- 5 πλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφι ἐπέπλωε, δέιλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. 10

- 10 Ὅρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλώοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας ἐλπίσαντες σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν· οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, 5 τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλασίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας· καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον· ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορὴν τε ἐποι-

εὐντο μεγάλην, ὁρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπι- 10  
 στάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα  
 σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα· ὅσοισι  
 δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεῖντο  
 ὅπως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἔλων παρὰ  
 βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος 15  
 ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

- 11 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν, ἀντίπρω-  
 ροὶ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενομένοι ἐς τὸ  
 μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα  
 δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ  
 περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα ἐνθαῦτα τριῇ 5  
 κοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργον τοῦ  
 Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν, Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος,  
 λόγμιον εἶοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ  
 Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Δυκο-  
 μῆδης Αἰσχροῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς 10  
 δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ  
 ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε· οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτε-  
 μίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας πολ-  
 λὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ  
 Ἀντιδωρος Δήμνιος, μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων 15  
 εἶόντων, αὐτομολεῖ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

- 12 Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνῃ ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον  
 θέρος, ἐγένετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἅπλετον διὰ  
 πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ  
 ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς 5

Another violent  
 storm shatters  
 both divisions of  
 the Persian fleet.

πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι, ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαί σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ 10 Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερή· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης, ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὥρμημένα, βρονταί τε σκληραί. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτῃ νύξ ἐγίνετο.

- 13 Τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλῶειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτῇ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγῃ φερομένοις ἐπέπιπτε. καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο, ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐ- 5 βοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθεῖν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἶη.

*Another naval engagement took place at Artemisium with no advantage to either side, but the Greeks lost so many ships that they were obliged to retire. Meanwhile the Persian land force advanced by way of Thermopylae through Phocis to Delphi.*

- 40 Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτε-  
 μισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεσθέντων, ἐς Σαλα-  
 μῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νῆας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα  
 προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγῃνται ἐκ τῆς 5

The Greek fleet  
retires to Salamis.

Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι  
 ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλήν  
 ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης· δοκούντες  
 γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ  
 ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν ἔον, <sup>10</sup>  
 οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἴσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, καὶ  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου ποιευμένους περιεῖναι  
 τε καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι·  
 ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι, οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφεν  
 σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα. <sup>15</sup>

- 41 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
 Desertion of  
 Athens by its  
 inhabitants, who  
 take refuge at  
 Aegina, &c.  
 ἀπῆλθον κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναῖον  
 τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ  
 τοὺς οἰκέτας· ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς 5  
 Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἶγιναν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλα-  
 μῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ  
 τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ  
 ἤκιστα· λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς  
 ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαitéεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσιν τε ταῦτα <sup>10</sup>  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες·  
 τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι· αὕτη δ' ἡ μελιτόεσσα,  
 ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμονυμένη, τότε ἦν  
 ἄψαυστος· σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· ὥς δέ σφι  
 πάντα ὑπεξέκευτο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.



*Xerxes advanced through Boeotia to Athens, which he found almost deserted; after a short siege the citadel was taken and burnt.*

- 56 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφι ἐξαγγέλθη ὡς  
 The majority of the allies wish to retire to the Isthmus of Corinth. ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νῆας ἐσέπιπτον, 5 καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὥς ἀποθουσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν· νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἳ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νῆας.

- 57 Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα  
 Mnesiphilus tries to get Themistocles to prevent this retreat. εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τι σφι εἶη βεβουλευμένον; πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὥς εἶη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου 5 ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε· “οὔτοι ἄρα ἦν ἀπαίρῳσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλεις ἕκαστοι τρέφονται· καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχει· δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· 10 ἀπολέεται τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι· ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἣν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν.”

- 58 Κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑπόθήκη· καὶ

Themistocles induces Eurybiades to call a council, at which he is rebuked for his importunity.

οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος, ἦτις ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη θέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμβίξαι· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε 5 ἐσβάντα λέγειν εἴ τι θέλει· ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει κείνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑνωτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς· ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρητίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νηὸς ἐκβήναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 10

- 59 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολὺς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος· λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· “ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, 5 ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται.” ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· “οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι σὺ στεφαιεῦνται.”

*Themistocles at length, by threatening to withdraw the whole Athenian fleet, and by a strong personal appeal to Eurybiades, persuaded him to remain and give the Persians battle.*

- 64 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεὶ τε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες· ἡμέρη τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμός ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἔδοξε δέ σφι 5 εὖξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Διακίδας συμμάχους· ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτά· εὖξά-

The Greeks send to Aegina for the images of the Aecidae.

μενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο· ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νῆα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν. 10

- 71 Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον·  
The Peloponnesians fortify the καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, Isthmus.  
 ὅκως κατ' ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρ-  
 βαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς 5  
 ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συν-  
 δραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἕζοντο· καί  
 σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός· ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ καὶ  
 συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς σφι 10  
 ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τεύ-  
 χος· ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριαδέων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς  
 ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι, καὶ  
 πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφο-  
 ρέοντο· καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες 15  
 ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

- 74 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ τοιοῦτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν,  
Fresh dispute among the allies as to the policy of retreating or fighting at Salamis.  
 ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νησὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμ-  
 ψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα  
 πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ 5  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ·  
 ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον  
 ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην,  
 τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο,  
 καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν ὥς ἐς τὴν 10

Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης  
κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸς χάρις δοριαλώτου μένοντας μά-  
χεσθαι· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰγινῆται, καὶ Μεγαρέες,  
αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνασθαι.

- 75 Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς ἔσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ  
 τοῦ συνεδρίου· ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖφ,  
 ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν· τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Σί- 5  
 κωνος· οἰκίτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος  
 παίδων· τὸν δὲ ὑστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμι-  
 στοκλῆς Θεσπίεα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπίεες  
 πολίτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον· ὅς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικό- 10  
 μενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε·  
 “ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάβρη τῶν ἄλλων  
 Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος, καὶ βου-  
 λόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα), φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 δρῆσμον βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει 15  
 κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢ μὴ  
 περιῖδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμο-  
 φρονέουσι, οὔτ’ ἐτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς  
 τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρο-  
 νέοντας καὶ τοὺς μῆ.” 20

- 76 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας, ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο·  
 τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα,  
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν,  
 μεταξύ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς  
 ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβε- 5

The Persians ac-  
cordingly block  
up both openings  
to the bay of Sa-  
laminis and occupy  
Pyttaleia.

βάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον  
 μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλα-  
 μῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνό-  
 σουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα  
 τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς 10  
 νῆας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπο-  
 λαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι, δοίεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτε-  
 μισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων· ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν  
 καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν,  
 ὥς ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισο- 15  
 μένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ  
 τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος),  
 ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι· ἐποίουν  
 δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν  
 δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτός, οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, παραρ- 20  
 τέοντο.

*The Greeks meanwhile discovered that their retreat was cut  
 off, so as soon as day dawned they put to sea.*

84 Ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι·

Commencement  
 of the battle in  
 the bay of Sala-  
 mis.

οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην  
 ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νῆας, Ἀμει-  
 νίης δὲ Παλληγενὺς, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ἐξα-  
 ναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νηὸς καὶ 5  
 οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ  
 βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι  
 τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν  
 κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην  
 εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὥς φάσμα σφι 10

γυναικὸς ἐφάνη· φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· “ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;”

- 86 Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νηῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκερατίζετο, αἱ μὲν  ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ  Αἰγινητέων· ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων  οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷον περ ἀπέβη· καίτοι ἦσαν γε [καὶ ἐγένοντο] ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν [ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ], πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ἑξέρην· ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεῇ-  10 σεσθαι βασιλεία.

- 87 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους  εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρ-  βάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ’ ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον  ἔτι παρὰ βασιλείῃ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπί-  5 κετο τὰ βασιλέως πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νηὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ, οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγέειν· ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νῆες φίλιναι ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εἶδουσα· ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνικε  10 ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου· εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλάσ-

ποντον ἰόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἐκ 15  
 προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, εἴτε συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυν-  
 δέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς· ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε  
 καὶ κατέδυσσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη, διπλᾷ ἔωπτην ἀγαθὰ  
 ἐργάσατο· ὁ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νηὸς τριήραρχος ὡς  
 εἶδὲ μιν ἐμβάλλουσιν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας 20  
 τὴν νῆα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι, ἢ αὐτο-  
 μολεῖν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέ-  
 ψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

- 88 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι, διαφυ-  
 at which Xerxes γέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δέ,  
 is greatly pleased. συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην, ἀπὸ  
 τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ· λέ-  
 γεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβα- 5  
 λούσαν· καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· “δέσποτα,  
 ὅρᾳς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νῆα τῶν πολε-  
 μίων κατέδυσσε;” καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ  
 Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον; καὶ τοὺς φάναι σαφῶς τὸ  
 ἐπίσημον τῆς νηὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν 10  
 ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίνῃ· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται,  
 αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 Καλυνδικῆς νηὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέ-  
 σθαι· Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα·  
 “οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες 15  
 ἄνδρες.” ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

- 89 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς  
 Immense loss of Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελ-  
 the Persians in this battle, as compared with φεύς, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὄνο-  
 that of the Greeks. μαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων, καὶ τῶν

ἄλλων συμμάχων· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἄτε 5  
 γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νῆες διεφθείροντο, καὶ  
 μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα  
 διένειον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ  
 διεφθάρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται  
 ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείους διεφθείροντο. 10  
 οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ  
 παρίεναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον  
 βασιλεῖ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

- 97 Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μὴ  
 τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῇται τοῖσι Ἑλλησι,  
 ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι, πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλή-  
 σποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπο-  
 λαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κιν- 5  
 δυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλετο· θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπιδηλος  
 εἶναι αἴτε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἰωνοῦ, ἐς τὴν  
 Σαλαμίνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῖν· γανλούς τε Φοι-  
 κήτους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίας ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος·  
 ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησό- 10  
 μενος. ὁρέοντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσ-  
 σοντα, εὖ ἐπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται  
 μένων πολεμήσειν. Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάν-  
 θανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

- 98 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίηε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας  
 ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφο-  
 ρήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν  
 ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔον·  
 οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. 5  
 λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ἦ ἡμερίων ἢ πᾶσα ὁδός,

Xerxes prepares  
 for instant flight,  
 but carefully con-  
 ceals his inten-  
 tion.

He sends a mes-  
 sage home: de-  
 scription of these  
 Persian mesen-  
 gers.



τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην  
 ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε  
 νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἐέργει μὴ οὐ  
 κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἐνυτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. 10  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ  
 δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη  
 κατὰ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατάπερ Ἑλλήσι  
 ἢ λαμπαδηφορίῃ, τὴν τῷ Ἑφαιστῷ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο  
 τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. 15

- 99 Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίῃ ἀπικομένη, ὡς  
 ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι  
 Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε  
 ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυ-  
 μίων θυμῆματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ 5  
 εὐπαθήσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεξελθοῦσα  
 συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες,  
 βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν  
 αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νηῶν ἀχθόμενοι  
 ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνον- 10  
 τες. καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξύ  
 χρόνον γινόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπι-  
 κόμενος ἔπανσε.

Dismay of the  
 Persians at Susa  
 on receiving the  
 news.

## NOTES.

### BOOK VII.

1. 2. *παρὰ*—Radical meaning, 'beside': with the genitive, 'from beside'; ἀγγελίῃ ἤκει παρὰ βασιλῆος, vii. 140: with the dative, 'rest beside', 'with'; δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον, ch. 5: παρὰ βασιλεῖ εὐδοκίμησε, viii. 87: with accusative (1) 'to beside', 'to', as here, (2) motion 'alongside', παρέπλεε παρὰ τὰς πύργους, ch. 100: of time, 'throughout', παρὰ τὴν ζῆν, ch. 46, (3) 'contrary to', see note on viii. 4, (4) 'compared with', from the idea of putting things 'alongside'.

4. *κεχαραγμένον*—Lit. 'pointed', 'made sharp', and so here 'exasperated'. Another meaning of the word is 'to scratch', 'furrow', and so 'to engrave' (from which idea comes the English 'character', the stamp or impress a man bears), compare the word γράφω (Engl. 'grave') which in Homer means only to scratch or scrape and so afterwards comes to mean to 'write', and the Latin *exarare*.

*ib.* τὴν ἐσβολὴν—'their attack.' Cf. ch. 41, ἐπὶ τοῖσι δόρασι, 'on their spears': ch. 218, ἐδυντο τὰ δπλα: and the French 'il a les yeux noirs'.

6. *δεινότερα ἐποίησε*—Lat. *molestius, aegrius ferre*: ποιέειν is generally used, cf. ch. 138, οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιεῦντο: ch. 218 end, οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο.

*ib.* ὄρμητο—ὀρμᾶσθαι in Herod. means (1) to set oneself in motion, to start: ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὀρμᾶτο, ch. 37: ὀρμέατο περὶ λύχων ἀπᾶς, ch. 215: so ὀρμώμενος ἐκ is used of a general 'making a place his headquarters'. (2) With an infinitive, 'to purpose': νησιωτίδας ὀρμήτο ποιέειν, ch. 22: and generally, 'to be eager', as here, and in ch. 19, ὀρμημένῳ ἑτέρῃ στρατηλατείῳ. The root is AB, to set in motion,

disturb, which takes the forms (1) *ap*, in *ἀρῶ*, *arare*: (2) *ep*, in *ἐρέσω*: (3) *op*, in *ὀρίω*, *orior* and *ὀρμῶ*.

9. *ἐπιτάσσω*—The ancient Persian system of government closely resembled that of modern Turkey. The monarch was represented in the outlying provinces by viceroys (satraps, pashas), appointed by, and accountable to him alone. These satraps were bound to furnish the king with a fixed annual tribute drawn from the people, but it rested with the king to settle what the amount should be; thus we find Darius here increasing it. The satraps were themselves paid by taxes imposed on their subjects, and were kept from extortion and cruelty by their responsibility to the king. Of course it was the king's interest to keep these powerful servants faithful, and so they were generally members of the royal family of Persia, or connected by marriage with it.

*ib.* *νέας*—Notice the difference between *νέας* and *πλοῖα*.

11. *Ἀσίη*—The term 'Asia' (*ἄσις*, mud) was applied (1) to a small town in Lydia, (2) to the region round it, (3) in an extended sense, to what is now called Asia Minor, (4) to the whole eastern continent. The Roman province of Asia included Mysia, Lydia, Caria and Phrygia: in this sense the term is used in Acts xix. 10, 'all they which dwelt in Asia': v. 31, 'certain of the chief of Asia': and in xx. 4, 18.

4. 1. *ἀποδέξας*—'After appointing' (*ἀποδεῖκνυμι*), cf. ch. 154, *ἀπεδέχθη εἶναι ἱππαρχος*: in ch. 17, 'to point out', *ἐλπίζων Ξέρξεα ἀποδέξειν λέγοντα οὐδέν*: in ch. 139 'to make a display of', *ἀποδεξάμενος ἔργα μέγала*: cf. viii. 89.

2. *ἀλλὰ γάρ*—'But indeed', cf. ch. 143. *γάρ* must not always be translated 'for': notice particularly (1) *γάρ* introducing a story: *λέγουσι γάρ ὥς...*, viii. 98: (2) *γάρ*=(in position) English 'since': *ταῦτα γάρ ἐδόκεε...ἀπαλλάσσοντο*, ch. 142: *ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γάρ ἐφαίνοντο γελοῖα ποιεῖν...μετεπέμψατο*, ch. 209: (3) *γάρ*='yes', in replies to questions: *ἐσῆλθε γάρ με κατοικτεῖραι*, ch. 46: (4) *γάρ* strengthened by *καί*, 'for indeed': *καί προεπεποίητο γάρ προεξέδρη*, ch. 44.

*ib.* *μετὰ ταῦτα*—The order is *τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐτεῖ μετὰ ταῦτα*.

4. *συνήνεκε*—Ionic aorist of *συμφέρω* (Attic *συνήνεγκε*) 'it happened'.

5. *τὰ πάντα*—'In all': *πάντα τὰ ἔτη* would have meant 'all the 36 years': thus *ἐπρίατο τὰ πάντα ἐξ μέτρα* is, 'he

bought six measures in all'; ἐπρίατο πάντα τὰ ἐξ μέτρα, 'he bought all the six measures'.

5. 3. ἐποίετο—Middle voice, 'was causing to be made', cf. ch. 100, ἀπογραφόμενος, 'having them written down': θέμενος ὄνομα, ch. 56, 'giving thyself the name'.

7. ἔχετο—Imperfect, 'kept harping on': ἔχομαι with genitive is literally 'to take (part) of', 'to cling to', see note on ch. 40.

8. οἰκὸς—Learn at once to distinguish this from οἶκος, 'a house'.

9. μὴ οὐ—After the preceding negative<sup>1</sup> (οὐκ οἰκὸς), μὴ οὐ taken together forms a single strong negative: so οὐ μὴ in VIII. 57, οὐ δυνήσεται...ὥστε οὐ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι.

ιβ. ἐποίησαν—Not 'have done', but 'did': never translate an aorist by 'have', as if it were a perfect.

13. τις—The Greek idiom puts this indefinitely, 'that any man'; we should say, 'that all men may...'.  
ιβ. φυλάσσειν—Middle voice again, 'may guard himself', i.e. 'be on his guard'.

14. οἱ—'To him', i.e. 'this speech of his': cf. ἀνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάνα 'standing over him', ch. 12: οἱ is also used as dative of the agent after passive verbs, cf. δεδογμένων οἱ τούτων, ch. 12.

15. ποιέσκετο—'Used always to make': cf. μετεκβαίνεσκε, ch. 41: φεύγεσκον, ch. 211.

17. ἀπερὴν—Refers of course to the excellence of the soil.

ιβ. βασιλεῖ—'The Great King': βασιλεὺς without the article both in Herod. and Thuc. means *the* King, the Great King of Persia.

ιβ. ἐκτήσθαι—Perfect infinitive of κτάομαι 'I get'; ἐκτημαι 'I have got', i.e. 'I possess'. Mardonius looked forward to being satrap of Greece, and so painted it in its brightest colours to Xerxes, to induce him to undertake the invasion.

12. 2. τε...καὶ—See note on ch. 23: notice the imperfections.

3. νυκτὶ βουλὴν διδοὺς—Either (1) 'taking counsel with himself (sc. ἐαυτῷ) by night', or (2) 'entrusting counsel to the night': the former seems preferable.

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, Greek Moods and Tenses, § 95. 2.

4. οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι οἱ—‘That it was not expedient (lit. business, duty) for him’: cf. εὕρισκέ οἱ πρῆγμα εἶναι ἐλαύνειν, I. 79.

5. δεδογμένων οἱ—‘Had been decided by him’; lit. ‘seemed good to him’.

8. μερδ—is separated from βουλευεαι by the figure called *tnesis* (τέμνω ‘I cut’), cf. ἀνά τε ἔδραμον, ch. 218: ἀπὸ μὲν θβανε ὁ στρατηγός, VIII. 89.

id. δῆ—‘Really’: δῆ always emphasises the sentence or word with which it is joined, cf. above, καὶ δῆ εἶδε, ‘and verily he saw’: πολλῶ δῆ μέγιστος, ‘quite by far the greatest’, ch. 20: also in questions, τί δῆ ἐθέλεις, ch. 56, ‘why, pray, dost thou wish?’: ironically or sarcastically, like δῆθεν, cf. ὡς δῆ κηδόμενος αὐτοῦ, ‘as though you really cared for him!’ ch. 17: ὡς δῆ εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι, ‘as though, forsooth, they would easily finish it off’, ch. 211.

10. προέπας—See note on πρήξας, ch. 38.

id. ὦν—Ionic for οὖν, ‘therefore’, to be carefully distinguished from ὦν, participle of εἰμι ‘I am’.

11. πάρα—For πάρεστι, when thus accented: disyllabic prepositions following the word they govern also throw the accent back, while the monosyllabic prepositions (ἐκ, εἰς), which have no accent, take one when thus situated. With πάρα (=πάρεστι) cf. ἐνι (ἐνεστι), μέτα, ἐπι.

12. τῆς ἡμέρας—Genitive of time, corresponding to the Latin ablative (*die*, *interdiu*), see note on VIII. 7.

13. 4. τοὺς—Just as in English, ‘having summoned those (=those whom) he formerly...’; we need not say that the relative is ‘omitted’ in such cases as these, and that here τοὺς=ἐκείνους οὓς, the fact being that the demonstrative is quite sufficient to express clearly the author’s meaning.

6. φρενῶν—The order is οὐ κω ἀνήκω ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμειωντοῦ φρενῶν, ‘to the full growth of my mind’.

8. ἀκούσαντι—With the genitive, simply ‘heard’, not ‘listened to’: compare Acts ix. 7, ἀκούοντες τῆς φωνῆς (E.V. ‘hearing the voice’) with xxii. 9, τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν (‘heard not’, i.e. understood not, ‘the voice’).

11. συγγνώς—‘Acknowledging my error’: for the usual meaning of συγγιγνώσκω and the other compounds, see note on VIII. 57.

12. *ὡς μεταδεδογμένον*—‘Trouble not yourselves, seeing that I have changed my plan, so as not to ...’. For the force of *μετά*, cf. *μετά δὴ βουλευέαι*, ch. 12: *μεταβολή, μεταγενώσκω, μεταστρέφεισθαι*, ch. 211, ‘to wheel about’.

14. 4. *δὴ*—Note on ch. 12.

*id.* *φαίνομαι*—*φαίνομαι ὥς*, ‘I evidently am’: *φαίνομαι εἶναι*, ‘I appear to be’: so here, ‘thou evidently didst reject’, ‘didst show thyself to reject’: cf. *στενωτέρῃ ἐφαίνετο εὐδία*, ch. 175, ‘it evidently was narrower’: but, *τῇ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές*, ch. 139, ‘in the way it appears to be true’: *κάρτα δπιστα ἐφαίνετο εἶναι*, ch. 209.

8. *ἀνασχέσαν*—‘That these things will happen (lit. arise) to thee from them’, i.e. from the *ἔρεα*.

15. 1. *περδεής*—‘Very frightened’: for this intensive use of *περ*, like the Latin *per*, *perjucundus*, *perpulcher*, &c., cf. *περχαρή, περικαλλής, περιθύμως ἔχειν, περιεργάζεσθαι* (to overdo a thing), *περιημεκτεῖν* (to be deeply moved), all in Hdt.

3. *ἐπὶ Ἀρτάβανον*—*ἐπὶ* with accusative denotes ‘motion towards’ (1) ‘to fetch’, as here; cf. *πέμπειν ἐπὶ γῆς αἰγῶν*, ch. 131: (2) ‘against’, *ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους*: (3) adverbially, *ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα*, ch. 139, ‘in both ways’, i.e. ‘looking to both sides’.

*id.* *καλέοντα*—Future tense, ‘to call him’.

8. *οὐκὼν*—=*οὐκὼν*, ‘therefore...not’, while *οὐκοῦν*=simply ‘therefore’.

14. *ὁμοίως...ἐντελλόμενον*—‘Laying the same commands on you as on me’.

15. *ἂν γινόμενα*—Translate as if the Greek were *δοτε ὡς ἂν γίνοντο*<sup>1</sup>: cf. note on *χρησθῆναι ἂν*, ch. 143.

17. 1. *ἔπιπυν*—‘Hoping to show Xerxes that he spoke to no purpose’: with *οὐδὲν λέγειν*, ‘to speak foolishly’, cf. *λέγειν τι*, ‘to say something’ (worth hearing), and in Lat. *nil agis*, ‘you are trying in vain’.

6. *ἐφοίτα*—‘Appeared again and again’, cf. *ἐπιφοιτῶν δειρῶν*, ch. 15. *φοιτῶ* (perhaps connected with *οἶτος, ὁμός* a path) is used of any recurrent motion, thus in ch. 22, *διάδοχοι δ’ ἐφοίτων*, ‘they used to come and go by relays’: *οἶτος πολλός*

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, § 41.

ἐφοίτα, ch. 23, 'was imported': also of the taxes 'coming in', τάλαντον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, v. 17: οἱ φοιτῶντες in Plato = 'the schoolboys'.

8. ὥς δὴ—'As though really'; note on ch. 12.

10. ἀποτρέπων—'For trying to turn aside (present tense) what (τὸ) must needs (χρέον, sc. ἐστὶ) happen': cf. viii. 75, τὰ λέγειν χρέον ἐντειλάμενος.

18. 8. καὶ δὲ—'And he': cf. καὶ οὖ, viii. 56: καὶ ἦ, viii. 87. The relative (or referring) pronoun was originally the same as the demonstrative (or pointing out) pronoun, because, when one wanted to refer to something absent, the simplest plan was to use the form which pointed it out when present. So in English, 'that' is both relative and demonstrative, e.g. 'it was not that that persuaded me'.

4. ἀμβώσας—For ἀναβοήσας: cf. ἐπεβώθειον (=ἐπεβοήθειον), viii. 14: βωθήσαντες, viii. 72: ἐβώσθη (=ἐβόδοσθη), viii. 124.

8. πεσόντα ὑπὸ—'Overthrown (lit. fallen) by': cf. ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηγάδω, ch. 213, 'was killed by A.': τὸν μέλλοντά σφι θάνατον ἔσσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν περιούτων, ch. 223.

ib. ἔων—Imperfect of ἐδώ: to be distinguished from ἐών, participle of εἰμι.

ib. τὰ πάντα—Adverbial accusative, 'in everything', lit. 'as to everything', see note on ch. 60.

10. Κύρου—Cyrus, king of Persia, father of Cambyses, was defeated and slain by Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, B.C. 529: he was the Cyrus who (Ezra i. 1, 2) permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple.

11. στόλον ὥς ἔρηξε—'Remembering the expedition, how it fared', i.e. 'remembering how the expedition fared': like οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, 'I know who you are': cf. τὴν ὠφελίην οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ᾔην, ch. 139, 'I cannot understand what would have been the use': ἀκηκόεε τοὺς ἡγέμονας ὥς εἴησαν, ch. 208: ἐσήμνηε τὴν ναυηγίην ὥς γένοιτο, viii. 8.

13. ἀτρεμίζοντα—'If you kept quiet', one of the poetical words, of which Herodotus is very fond.

18. ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ—'By the god', an Ionic usage of ἐκ; cf. ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιδάτῳ, ch. 223: τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου διδόμενα, viii. 114. Notice too the usages (2) 'instead of', ἐξ αἰθρίης...ἐπέπεσε χειμῶν, vii. 188: like Sophocles τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος: (3) 'after', ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης, viii. 12.

20. *ὅπως τῶν σῶν*—‘That none of your things (i.e. that nothing on your part) may be wanting’.

24. *ἐφάνετο*—‘Showed himself’: see note on ch. 14.

22. 1. *τοῦτο μὲν*—‘First of all’, usually (but not here) answered by *τοῦτο δέ*, ‘next’.

*ib.* *προσπταισάντων*—‘Had come to grief’, lit. ‘stumbled’: cf. ch. 210, *καί περ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες*. *τῶν πρώτων* refers of course to the previous expedition of Mardonius in 495 against the Athenians and Eretrians, who had helped the Ionians in their revolt against the Persians and had burnt Sardis (v. 99, vii. 1).

2. *προετοιμάζετο ἐς*—‘Preparations were being made with regard to’.

3. *μάλιστα*—‘For about three years before’: for *μάλιστα* thus used with numerals, cf. *σταδίου μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδῶκοντα*, viii. 8: *ἐς ἀγορῆς κού μάλιστα πληθῶρην* (‘just about full market time’), vii. 223.

5. *ὄρμεον*—Distinguish *ὄρμεον* (*ὄρμέω*) from *ὀρμεύμενοι* (*ὀρμάω*).

6. *ὑπὸ μαστίγων*—We are reminded of the Egyptian taskmasters in Exodus; cf. chaps. 56 and 223, where the Persians are whipped on by their officers to the battle.

23. 2. *κατὰ Σάνην*—*κατὰ* with accusative: general idea, ‘down towards’. Uses in Hdt. (1) motion ‘over’ or ‘along’: *διαβάντες κατὰ Βόσπορον*, vii. 20, cf. vii. 55: *διέφθειρε κατ’ ὁδόν*, viii. 115, ‘along the way’: (2) of place where or on which: *κατ’ ἠπείρου ἐσβαλεῖν*, viii. 71: *κατὰ μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσύμενος*, viii. 130: (3) over against: *κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν*, vii. 23: (4) distributively: *κατὰ τάξεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα*, vii. 212: *κατὰ πόλιν*, vii. 139: *ἐξελέγετο κατ’ ὅλους*, viii. 113: (5) purpose ‘towards which’: *ἀποδημεῖν κατὰ τοὺς Δακίδας*, viii. 84: *κατὰ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται*, viii. 98: (6) in relation to: *κατὰ μὲν δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους*, ‘with regard to the others’: *κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην*, viii. 87: (7) ‘according to’: *κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα*, vii. 20: ‘answering to’, note on vii. 142: (8) with substantives, equalling an adverb: *κατὰ τάχος*, viii. 115: *κατ’ ἡσυχίην*: *κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν*, &c. This preposition is a great favourite with Hdt., and is used by him in a great variety of ways; in composition with verbs it is exceedingly common, e.g. *καταφρονέω*, *κατανύτω*, *καταρρωδέω*, &c.

*ib.* *Σάνην πόλιν*—In the preceding chapter it was called



πόλις Ἑλλάς, i.e. a Greek colony, as distinguished from a town inhabited by the native Thracians. Thucydides (B.C. 471—401) iv. 109 tells us it was colonised by the Andrians, πόλεις δὲ ἔχει Σάδην μὲν Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυγα, a passage which forms a good commentary on κατὰ Σάδην πόλιν here.

4. ἡ διώρυξ—Traces of this canal are still to be found in a series of ponds extending across the greater part of the isthmus. The work was not really difficult, the distance across being only 2500 yards, and the ground easy. Juvenal (A.D. 25—105?) disbelieves the whole story: '*creditur olim velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax audet in historia*,' Sat. x. 173—5.

5. αἰεὶ—'From time to time': cf. Aeschylus (B.C. 525—456) Prom. 973, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' αἰεὶ, 'flatter the ruler who ever he be'.

11. ἄτε...ποιευνμένων—'For since they made the width (lit. the measure) the same'.

12. ἔμελλε—'Was about to', or, as we say, 'was sure to': cf. ἔμελλον δὴθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, viii. 6, 'they were of course quite sure to escape'.

15. ἐπέβαλλε—'Fell to their lot'.

16. διπλήσιον ἢ—'Twice as wide as was necessary', lit. 'double than': ἢ is thus used generally after the comparatives πλεον, μάλλον, but, cf. a curious use in viii. 4, αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, 'contrary to what they were supposing'.

18. συνήγον—'Kept bringing the sides together.'

ib. τε...καί—The Greek idiom expresses by two co-ordinate sentences, i.e. two independent statements of fact ('and... and'), what the English expresses by a subordinate sentence, i.e. one which in grammatical construction depends on something preceding: 'as soon as it reached the bottom, the work was found equal'. For other examples, see note on viii. 64.

19. τοῖσι ἄλλοις—i.e. 'to that of the rest': cf. πυραμίδα ἀπέλιπετο ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς, 'he left behind him a pyramid less than (that of) his father', ii. 134; κόμαι χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, 'hair equal to (that of) the Graces', Hom. II. xvii. 51<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Farrar, Greek Syntax, p. 195.

24. 1. *συμβαλλόμενον*—‘Considering it’, or, as we say, ‘putting things together’.

4. *παρὸν*—An accusative absolute, ‘it being possible’, so *ἔξον, δέον, &c.*, cf. *ὡς ὧν μεταδεδογμένον*, ch. 13.

8. *καὶ τὸ δρυγμα*—The *καὶ* will be omitted, in translating into English.

33. 1. *ἐν τούτῳ*—sc. *χρόνῳ*, ‘meanwhile’.

2. *ἔστι δὲ τῆς*—‘Now there is on the Hellespontine Chersonese’.

34. 2. *ἐγεφύρουν*—Understand a nominative out of *τοῖσι*, ‘they were making the bridge, to whom...’: cf. ch. 39, *ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο*, i.e. *ἐκείνους τοῖσι*: ch. 215, *ἔπεμπε...τῶν ἐστρατήγεσσι* *Ἰδάρνης*, i.e. *ἐκείνους ὧν*.

4. *ἐπὶ στάδιοι*—The stadium is about 200 yards. As a matter of fact, the width is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

35. 5. *ἐπικέσθαι*—‘Inflict upon’; *καθικνέομαι* is used in a similar way in Sophocles (B.C. 495—406) *Oed. Tyr.* 809, *κάρα διπλοῖς κέντροισι μου καθίκετο*.

6. *ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα*—‘I even heard’, cf. ch. 55, end. Juvenal too, *Sat. x.* 182, regards this only as a report: ‘*Ipsum compeditus qui vinzerat Ennosigaeum. Mittis id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum credidit*’; and says the scourging was inflicted on the winds, ‘*In Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis*’, l. 180.

9. *ἀτάσθαλα*—Aeschylus too, who had fought at Marathon (B.C. 490) was struck by the great King’s impiety: *Persae* 750, *ὄστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱερὸν, δούλον ὡς, δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχῆσαι*.

13. *κατὰ δίκην ἔρα*—‘Rightly, as it seems’: cf. *Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ’ ἦν θεός*, ‘Cyprius then, it appears, was no goddess after all’.

16. *ἐπεσσεύτων*—Participle perfect of *ἐφίστημι*, ‘who pre-vided over’.

37. 8. *ὠρμημένῳ οἱ*—A dative ‘absolute’, i.e. free from the ordinary rules of grammar: cf. *κελοδόσῃσι δὲ νηυσὶ καθειλομένῳ ἰστία*, *Hom. Od. ix.* 149, closely resembling the dative ‘commodi’.

*ib.* *ἐκλιπὼν*—A ‘total eclipse’ of the sun is said to have been first foretold by Thales, B.C. 636—546, but there seems little doubt that the Chaldeans had advanced much further in astronomy long before that time.

god on earth, just as to the Israelites in the wilderness the tabernacle denoted the constant abiding-place of Jehovah. The white horses seem to suggest a possible connection with the worship of the Sun (Mithra), which we find Xerxes worshipping, εἶχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ch. 54.

16. λευκοί—White was supposed to be the colour that denoted the best horses. Cf. Virg. Aen. xii. 84, *equos...qui candore nives anteirent*: Pindar (B.C. 522—442) Pyth. i. 66, λευκῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, of whom Macaulay says (Battle of Lake Regillus), 'White as snow their armour was; their steeds were white as snow'. For farming purposes and hard work, however, Virgil ranks the colour very low, *color deterrimus albis*, Georg. iii. 82.

17. εἶπετο—ἐπομαι and the Latin *sequor* are from the same root; a similar interchange of π and qu is found in πέντε (Aeol. πέμπε) *quinque*, πίσυρες (Aeol. for τέσσαρες) *quatuor*, ἵππος *equus*.

ib. ἐχόμενος—Literally, 'holding of the bridle', a participative genitive, cf. ch. 5, τοιοῦτου λόγου εἶχετο: viii. 11, ἐργου εἶχοντο, 'were pressing on (lit. keeping hold of) the work'.

20. ἡνίοχος—This post was always filled by a youth of noble birth; the Otanes here mentioned was probably connected with the Achaemenidae, the royal family of Persia.

41. 1. μετεβαίνεσκε—For the form, see note on ch. 5, and cf. ch. 100, μετεβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην.

2. ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι—'Whenever the reason (or, as we say, the wish) took him', i.e. whenever the idea occurred to him. The phrase has generally a different meaning, thus ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ με is, 'reason convinces me', 'it stands to reason that'. For the optative (αἰρέοι) after ὅκως, denoting indefinite frequency ('as often as'), see viii. 115, ὅκου πορευόμενοι γινώσκοτο.

ib. λόγος—This word occurs, in these chapters, with the following meanings: (1) a talking, story, cf. viii. 74, σιγῇ λόγον ἐποίετο, 'kept up a talking': viii. 58, λόγος τῶν εἰνεκα, 'story of the reasons'; (2) talk which one causes, reputation, cf. ch. 5, ἵνα λόγος σε ἔχῃ ἀγαθός, 'that thou mayest have a good repute': ch. 211, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, 'fought in a manner worthy of their reputation': so viii. 10, Ἀθηναίων λόγος ἦν πλείστος, and compare ch. 218, οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, 'made no account of'; (3) rank, order: ch. 222, ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ, 'in the rank of hostages'; (4) reason, as here, ὅκως μιν λόγος

*αἰρέοι*: cf. VIII. 5, *ἤπιστάτεο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτω τὰ χρήματα*, 'thought that the money came for this purpose'.

3. *ἀρμυράσαν*—A 'litter', Latin *lectica*, the modern 'araba', fitted up with cushions and an awning to keep off the sun, generally used for carrying women.

5. *κατὰ νόμον*—'According to custom'. *νόμος* (from *νέμω*, to assign, distribute) means what is dealt out to all, i.e. law, and what is law to all becomes custom. With a different accent, *νομός* means the ground assigned to each man, pasture. Derivatives are *νομίζω*, to make a custom, acknowledge, and so to think; *νόμισμα*, the 'acknowledged' coinage, current coin, Latin *nummus*, cf. *numerus*; *νέμεσις*, divine indignation, wrath that is 'due'; *νομεύς*, a shepherd; *νομᾶω*, to assign, the verb keeping only to the original sense of the root.

8. *μέριοι*—The so-called *ἀθάνατοι* or Immortals.

10. *συνεκληῖον*—For the Attic *συνέκλειον*. The termination *-ῆος*, *-ῆια*, *-ῆιον*=the Attic *-είος*, *-εία*, *-είον*, cf. *ἀληθῆι*, *στρατῆι*, *ἀριστῆιον*, *μαντήιον*, &c.

13. *μήλα*—Probably lemons or oranges. *μήλον* signifies any tree fruit, thus *μήλον Ἀρμενιακόν* is the *malum praecox*, our a-pricoek or apricot (L. and S.).

43. 1. *δε*—so. *ἐστὶ*.

2. *ἐπεὶ τε*—'When', 'as soon as'. With many pronouns and adverbs, *τε* has quite a different sense to its usual meaning, 'and', and is not translated at all, while the word with which it is joined has a relative force. In Homer it is often untranslatable, cf. *ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει*, II. ix. 593: *λοχίον ἐνθα τε μηρὸς λοχίῳ ἐστρέφεται*, 'just where the joint...', II. v. 305: so *ἵνα τε*, *ὥσει τε*, &c., and so *ἔπει τε* here. Cf. ch. 100, *ταῖς νέας ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσαρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ*, 'launching the ships as far as four plethra from the beach'. When the demonstrative pronoun (perhaps the only one in Homer) became developed into the relative (note on ch. 18), the *τε* was dropped in most cases in Attic: for a few instances of exceptions to this rule, where *τε* was kept, see note on *ἐπ' ᾧ τε*, VIII. 4.

3. *ἐπείλιε*—In the dry season these rivers are reduced to a very small stream, and probably the trampling of so large an army would break up the ground and make the river a marsh from which it would be impossible to procure any

drinkable water. Juvenal (Sat. x. 176) is incredulous: *Credimus altos defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo prandente.*

5. κτήνῃσι—κτῆνος, properly a 'possession', from κτάναι, 'I get', is almost always specialised to mean 'cattle', because in early times, when there were hardly any manufactured goods, live stock were the most important part of a man's property.

6. Πέργαμον—The Pergamum (connected with πύργος, German -burg, our Edin-burgh, Tewkes-bury) was properly the citadel of Troy, as the Acropolis was of Athens, but in poetry it was often used to denote the whole city.

9. ἔχαιαντο—i.e. propitiatory libations, the heroes being regarded as vengeful powers, whom it was necessary to appease by offerings.

44. 2. καὶ γὰρ—See note on ch. 4.

8. Φοίνικες—We have already had (chs. 23, 24) instances of the ingenuity of this people. From the earliest times they were experienced navigators, and had set up their factories for the manufacture of the dye from the purple shell (*Murex trunculus*) in many parts of Hellas. They had also colonised Carthage, Spain, both on the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and even ventured as far north as Cornwall, attracted by the valuable tin mines.

45. 1. ὥρα—Attic ἑώρα, imperfect of ὁράω.

2. ἀκτὰς—From ἀγνυμι, i.e. what *breaks* the force of the waves, compare ῥηγμὶς (shore) from ῥήγνυμι.

46. 1. μαθὼν—'Having noticed': cf. ch. 188, ὅσοι αὐξάνομενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἀνεμὸν, 'as many as noticed...': ch. 208, τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε, 'was taking note of their number': cf. viii. 88. The word in its developed meaning (to notice and so to learn) closely resembles πυνθάνομαι, to ask and so to hear. The root is *μαν* or *μεν*, to measure, from which are derived *μήνη* the moon, the *measurer* of time, *μήν* a month, Lat. *mensis*, the thing *measured*, *manus*, a hand, *μέτρον*, &c., *mens*, the mind, the *measurer* of thought, *moneo*, *μάντις*, *μέμονα*, 'I think backwards', i.e. 'remember', *Minerva*, the goddess of thoughtful handicraft. With the special sense which 'mathematics', literally, *the learnings*, bears in English, compare the Greek *ποιητής*, literally, 'a maker', and our 'undertaker'.

4. ὥς πολὺ...ἐργάσασθαι—'How entirely different (lit. separated) from one another were the things thou didst'.

7. γάρ—See note on ch. 4.

ib. ἐσῆλθε...κατοικτεῖραι—'The thought entered me (lit. it entered me) to think in pity'.

8. εἰ—Whether the derivation of the Greek *ei* and Latin *si* (old *sei*) is at all similar to that of the English 'if' (=give), is uncertain. Here it is taken with the following γε, meaning ἐπει, 'since', Lat. *siquidem*. Cf. ch. 226, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, 'since, if the Medes hid the sun'. Notice too εἰ after θαυμάζω (= 'whether'), cf. viii. 8, θαυμάζω εἰ ἐστὶ ἀληθές (a usage said to be owing to Greek politeness and unwillingness to say anything downright), and the phrases εἰ πως (viii. 6), ἢν πως (viii. 5), 'if by any means', i.e. 'in hopes that'.

10. τούτου—After οἰκτρότερα.

ib. παρὰ τὴν ζόην—Latin 'inter vitam', 'along the course of life'.

13. τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται—'To whom it will not occur', cf. Soph. O. T. 911, δόξα μοι παρεστάθη νοὺς ἰκέσθαι, 'the idea entered my head...'.  
 15. καὶ βραχὺν ὄντα—'Even though it is short': for καὶ see note on ch. 55.

19. γεύσας—γεύω, I give a taste, γεύομαι, I give myself a taste, i.e. I taste. The emphasis is on γλυκύν, which is shown by its being put first, 'sweet as is the taste that...'.  
 ib. φθονερός—For the idea cf. ch. 10 § 5, φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολοῦειν, 'God loves to prune all excesses': and i. 32, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες. Herodotus is strongly imbued with the idea of this 'invidia', or grudging of happiness, on the part of the gods.

ib. εἰρίσκειται ἔδν—Like φαίνεται ἔδν, 'is proved to be.'  
 54. 1. ταύτην...ἡμέρην—Accusative of time during which, 'for this day', not 'on this day', which would be ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ: cf. viii. 71, ἐλινον οὐδένα χρόνον, 'they never rested': viii. 86, ἦσαν ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην, 'during this day they were': viii. 99, τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον. Also of space along which: viii. 113, ἐξέλαυνον τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, 'they marched out the same way'. Both usages come from the radical idea of the accusative, motion along or to a given end.

5. στορνόντες—A common part of Eastern worship, see S. Matt. xxi. 8.

7. εὐχετο—The Persians worshipped the sun under the name Mithra (cf. the name Mithradates, 'given to the sun'). They also worshipped fire, as the best symbol of their divinity: they had no temples or shrines, but only altars on open mountain-tops. It has been a question whether this Magism or fire-worship was the original religion of the Persians, or whether it was introduced amongst them from abroad. It seems probable that the Medes, the near neighbours of Persia, received it from the Scyths, many tribes of whom in early times were scattered all over Western Asia. When the Medes were conquered by the Persians, Magism received a severe blow, but made a last effort under the Pseudo-Smerdis, who was slain by Darius. Magism then, since it could not conquer Persia, had to be content with undermining and blending with the old Persian religion, which was a belief in two contending principles of good and evil, personified under the names of Ormuzd, the supreme god, and Ahriman, the chief of the powers of evil.

8. παύσει—Xerxes said 'ἡ με παύσει', and in the reported speech the verb is kept in the same mood, to make the story more vivid, instead of being changed, as it would be in Latin. Cf. ch. 213, ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως ὃ τι χρῆσται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι, where he said ἀπορῶ ὃ τι χρῆσομαι.

10. ἐτίβαλε—It was usual to propitiate the *invidia* of the gods by throwing away something very precious, cf. the story of Polycrates of Samos, who, when prospering in everything, by the advice of Amasis, king of Egypt, went out some way to sea, and threw overboard his signet-ring. But some days afterwards a fisherman made Polycrates a present of a fine fish, in which, when it was opened, the ring was found; Amasis accordingly ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τελευτήσῃ μελλεῖ Πολυκράτης, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, and put an end to his alliance with him, Herod. iii. 41—3.

13. ἀνατιθεῖς—The participle is the emphatic word, and we must change the construction in English, translating, 'if he dedicated it to the sun when he...'. For similar emphatic participles cf. ch. 190, ὃ μὲν τὰλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων...πλούσιος ἐγένετο, 'he was not favoured with good luck in other things, though he became (or, when he became) rich': viii. 99, οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι...ἐπόλεον, 'they did this not so much because they were grieved about the ships'.

55. 1. κατὰ—'By way of', note on ch. 23.

4. ὑποζύγια—'Those under the yoke' (ὑγον, Lat. *jugum*). The yoke, of course, is what 'joins' (ζεύγνυμι, *jungo*), two animals together. The root is *jug*, pronounced *yug*, from which come *con-jux*, a husband or wife, *jus* (soup, i.e. a mixture) Greek ζωμός, *jugerum* an acre, *juxta* near, i.e. joined to.

5. θεραπῆται—Equals *θεράποντες*, abstract for concrete, so *servitium* often for *servi*. Cf. Tacitus (A.D. 58—120?) Hist. i. 9, *Flaccum, ne quieto quidem milite regimen*.

6. μετὰ τούτους—'Next to these,' not 'with these,' which would be μετὰ τούτων. Cf. ch. 139, Ἀθηναῖοι... βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοῦ ἀνωσάμενοι, 'who, next to the gods, drove off the Great King'.

10. μετὰ δὲ—'And afterwards', cf. just below ἐπὶ δὲ, 'and next', so πρὸς δὲ, viii. 40, and μετὰ δὲ, ἐπὶ δὲ, ἐν δὲ, all in viii. 113.

12. ἐπὶ τούτοις—'Next to these', see note on ch. 132.

13. ἀνήγοντο—ἀνάγεσθαι (lit. to lead oneself up) is the regular word for 'to set sail', to launch on the *high* seas, as we say: κατάγεσθαι, for 'to put into harbour', to come *down* to land.

ib. ἐς τὴν—sc. γῆν or ἀκτὴν.

ib. καὶ ὅσπαστον—'Quite last.' καὶ, like δὲ (note on ch. 12), emphasises the word with which it is joined, cf. ch. 46, καὶ βραχὺν ὄντα, 'even though it is short': ch. 141, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν, 'until we actually die'.

56. 1. Εὐρώπη—The word *Europa* means 'darkness' or 'the west'; it is the same root as *Erebus*, and *Arab*, the latter being so called because he lived in the westernmost part of Asia. The Phoenicians, Greeks, and others, spoke of 'the West' as we speak now of 'the East', thus to the Greeks Italy was 'Hesperia'. The fabled carrying away of *Europa* by *Jupiter* to *Crete* evidently symbolizes a Phoenician colonisation of that island, and *Europa* is called the daughter of *Phoenix* by *Homer* (II. ii. 821).

4. Δινύσας—One of the poetical words of which *Herodotus* is very fond, cf. εὐφρόνη just before used for 'night', lit. the 'kindly' time: ἡμέρη and ἡμερος, ch. 44: πόνος (of a battle), ch. 224, both on land and (viii. 89) on sea, also of a violent storm, ch. 190: ἀτρεκέως, ch. 208, and τὸ ἀτρεκέως, ch. 60: τέρπω, viii. 99: ἐτεραλκέως, viii. 11: ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ = 'in the thick of the fight', viii. 89, &c.



6. τί δῆ—See note on ch. 12.

7. οὔνομα—Ionic for *δνομα*, cf. *ξέλως* for *ξένος*, *κενός* for *κενός*, *μῶνος* for *μόνος*, but *μέζων* for *μεζών*. *δνομα* is for *δ-γνομα*, the *ο* being 'prosthetic'; the root is *γαν*, from which are derived *gnarus*, *γινγνώσκω* (reduplicated), *νόος* (= *γνοος*), *nota*, *narrare* (= *gnarigare*) to make known, *nomen*, cf. *cognomen*, *norma* (= *gnorima*).

ib. ἀνέστανον—'Utterly wasted', cf. Thuc. (B.C. 471—401) VIII. 24, ἀνέσταντα ἐποίησαν τὰ ταύτη χώρια. The word also, from its derivation (*ἀνίστημι*, I make to rise up), contains the idea of 'depopulated', and we know that it was a favourite practice of Eastern conquerors to carry away captive the whole population of a conquered land, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6, 'The king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan (a tributary of the Tigris, left bank), and in the cities of the Medes', B.C. 721: and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 'Them that had escaped from the sword carried he (Nebuchadnezzar) away to Babylon', B.C. 588.

8. πάντας—Cf. ch. 19, Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγεσθαι ποιεῖται, χώρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἡπείρου.

9. ἐξῆν—'It was in thy power', imperfect of ἐξέστι, 'it is possible'.

60. 1. ἀριθμῶν—The root is *ἀρ*, to fit, from which are derived *ἀραρίσκω* (root reduplicated) I fit, suit, *ἀρθρον* a joint, *ἀρτύν* fit together, prepare, *ἀριθμός* reckoning, i.e. fitting together numbers in a series, *ἀρτιος* even, *ἀρτι* just, exactly, *ἀρι*-fitting, good, in *ἀριστος* *ἀρετων*, *ἀρέσκω* I please, *ἀρετή* excellence, fitness; Latin *arma* equipments, with which a man is fitted, *armus* shoulder (of an animal), *artus* limb, *artus* close, *ars* art = *ar(ti)s*<sup>1</sup>, &c.

2. οὐκ ἔχω—*ἔχω* intransitive is used by Herodotus meaning (1) to have oneself, to be, of a law, to run, cf. ch. 209, νόμος οὕτω ἔχων: ch. 132, τὸ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε, 'was as follows': of a country, to 'lie', ch. 201, τῶν πρὸς βορρῇν ἐχόντων, 'of those which lie towards the north': with adverbs, simply to be, ch. 220, αὐτῷ οὐκ εὐπερὲς ἔχειν, 'said that it was not seemly for him': (2) to have (of), to be off for, with a genitive, cf. ch. 188, τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμον, 'those who were so off for anchorage',

cf. Aristophanes' πῶς ἔχεις ὑποδημάτων; 'how are you off for shoes?' (3) to have it in one's power, to be *able*, generally with infinitive, ch. 60, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές, 'I cannot say for certain', ch. 211, οὐκ ἔχοντες πλῆθεϊ χρήσασθαι, 'not being able to make use of...', but ch. 60, ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, without infinitive, 'as best they could'. (4) ἔχειν εἰς, to refer to, ch. 143, εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε, 'if it had referred to the Athenians'.

*ib.* τὸ ἀτρεκές—For the construction, see on τόνδε τὸν τρόπον below. The word is derived from ταρκ, a secondary of the root ταρ, which has the idea of motion with friction, whence τείρω, *tero* I rub, τέρηρ tender: from ταρκ come *torqueo* I whirl or twist, *torques* a chain, ἀ-τρακτος an arrow, which goes to its mark *without a swerve*, and ἀτρεκής (metaphorically) without a twist, i.e. certain, sure. From the same root ταρ come τρέπω, *trepidus*, τρέμω, τρήρων (= τρέσρων) a dove, i.e. the 'trembling' bird.

3. οὐδαμῶν—'By *any* man': in Greek the two similar negatives do not destroy, but strengthen one another. In English the opposite is the case; 'not related by no one' would be the reverse of what Herodotus means. Yet in old English a redundant negative is often found, cf. Acts x. 47, 'Can any man forbid water, that these should *not* be baptized?' and in the rubric, 'any just cause or impediment, why these should *not* be joined together'.

4. ἑξδμήκοντα—The final α, as is seen by the accent, is short, while in the Latin *septuaginta*, *triginta*, *quingaginta*, it is properly long, though sometimes shortened by the poets. In both cases, it is a neuter plural termination, and neuter plurals were originally long in Latin, as we see from one or two instances in Plautus.

5. μυριάδες—This was the land army only, and as Herodotus says, did not include the cavalry, which numbered 80,000, nor the Arabs and Libyans 20,000. Besides these, there were the crews of the triremes, of which there were 1207, and counting 200 men to each trireme, this gives a total of 241,400; also the ἐπιβάται or marines on board each trireme, 30 on each, in all 36,210. Then there were the transports (πλοῖα σιταγωγά) which Herod. guesses at 3000 with an average crew of 80, in all 240,000. From Europe, too, he supposes Xerxes to have drawn 300,000 land and 24,000 sea forces. These were

all fighting men, and he estimates that each had one attendant at least. In a tabular form<sup>1</sup>:

Land forces	{	Infantry.....	1,700,000
		Cavalry.....	80,000
		Arabs and Libyans .....	20,000
Sea forces	{	Crews of the triremes (1207 × 200) .....	241,400
		Marines (1207 × 30).....	36,210
		Crews of the transports (3000 × 80).....	240,000
From Europe	{	Land forces.....	300,000
		Sea forces .....	24,000
Total .....			2,641,610
An equal number of attendants.....			2,641,610
Grand Total .....			5,283,220

Mr Grote has remarked that this estimate is much too high, the crew of a transport, for instance, could not have been so many as 80, and the transports themselves may be set down at 100. The forces drawn from Europe are too high. But the grand error is his assuming that each fighting man had an attendant. This may have been the case in the Grecian, but certainly was not in the Persian army, still less with the crews of the transports, and thus we get the total diminished at once by nearly one half. The safest estimate of the number of Xerxes' total force, is that which puts it at about a million and a half.

*ib.* τόνδε τὸν τρόπον—A sort of adverbial accusative, like εἶπαι τὸ ἀπρεκὲς above, 'to say for certain': cf. ch. 209, ἐπειρώτα ὅτινα τρόπον μαχέσονται, 'he asked in what way...': ch. 211, ἐφέροντο τὰ αὐτά, 'they were carried on in the same way': ch. 18, οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα εἰκει τῇ ἡλικίῃ, 'I did not allow thee to yield in everything': VIII. 117, οὐδένα κόσμον ἐμπιμπλάμενοι, 'filling themselves without restraint'.

7. συνάγαντες—Aorist participle of συνάγω, 'after pressing together'.

8. ἔξωθεν—Idiomatically, for ἔξω, because the action was

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Rawlinson.

regarded as done *from* the outside: see note on VIII. 87, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

ib. ἀπέντες—Ionic for ἀφέντες, aorist participle of ἀφίημι, 'let go'.

9. ἕψος—'In height', another adverbial accusative, lit. 'as to height'.

10. ἀνδρὶ—'to a man's middle', apparently the dative after a substantive where one would usually have the genitive, cf. Livy (B.C. 59—A.D. 17) XXIX. 29, *militanti in Hispania pater ei moritur*.

13. διέτασσον—'Arranged them separately'.

100. 1. ἠρόμηνσέ τε—The nominative to this is, of course, Xerxes, but the καὶ διετάχθη following with the nominative στρατὸς, is unusual, since when no nominative (as here) is expressed with the first verb, and a second verb is joined on by καὶ, the nominative to the second verb generally belongs to the first as well.

5. ἀνέγραφον—The force of the preposition is 'took it down from' their replies. It was probably from the records made by these scribes that Herodotus got most of his information about the strength of the Persian army.

6. ἀνίκρο—ικνέομαι is one of those words which has lost a digamma at the beginning. The digamma was an old consonant which had fallen out of use, as far as writing was concerned, when the poems of Homer were written down. The name has reference to the shape of the letter (F), which resembled two capital gammas one above the other, and its pronunciation is supposed to have been that of the English 'w'. This explains why, in such lines as e.g. Τηλέμαχος δ', ὅθι αἰθάλαμος περικαλλέος αὐλῆς, the short vowel at the end of ὅθι is not cut off, because αἰ was pronounced as if it had a 'w' before it. ικνέομαι, then, is from the root *Fuk*, from which come *vicus* village, the place where people 'come and go', *οἶκος* house, *villa* (= *vicla*) country house, *vicinus*, *ικανός* enough, i.e. *coming up* to the right quantity, English *wick*, a town, as in *Chis-wick*, and *Wick*, in the north of Scotland.

7. κατακυσθεσέν—It was the ancient custom, when a landing was made, always to draw the ships on shore, prow foremost, the stern was then secured by being fastened with

ropes to large stones (*eúval*) which served as anchors. The custom lasted at least as long as until Caesar's time, for we find him referring to the same process in his Commentaries.

8. *μετεκβás*—The prepositions contain the ideas of 'changing' from (note on ch. 13), and descending from.

9. *σκηνή*—'An awning'. Our 'scene' is of course the same word, which has passed through a curious string of meanings. *σκηνή* (connected with *σκία*) is what shades or shelters, then it is used for the back wall of a stage, which 'sheltered' it from the outside, then for the stage itself, then for anything 'public', open, as opposed to private, then in particular, an open prospect or view, our 'scene'.

11. *ὁμοίως καί*—Lat. *eodem modo atque*. In both these phrases, where we translate *καί* and *atque*, 'as', they originally meant 'and'. Thus *Eodem modo lusit atque prius solebat* is simply 'In the same manner he played, and was wont (to play). So *simul atque venit, sedatus est tumultus*, which we translate 'as soon as he came...', is originally, 'the tumult was quieted at the same time, and he came (at the same time)'.

12. *ὅσον τε*—'as far as', 'about', see note on *ἐπεὶ τε*, ch.

43. The plethrum was about 100 feet.

13. *αἰγιαλοῦ*—The word in its original meaning (that which is 'shaken' by the sea) is connected with *αἰγίς* storm, *καταγίγω* storm down, perhaps *αἰγίπος*, a poplar, i.e. the 'quivering' tree, and Lat. *aeger* trembling, ill.

*ἰδ.* *ἀνεκώχευον*—The verb is formed from *ἀνοκωχή*, a reduplication of *ἀνοχή*, from *ἀνέχω*, 'hold back' or 'hold up'. *ἀνοκωχή* in Thuc. means a 'holding up' of arms, a 'truce', thus *δι' ἀνοκωχῆς γενέσθαι* is, 'to be at truce with'. Here the verb means, 'kept them riding at anchor'.

15. *ἐπιβάτας*—From *ἐπιβαίνω*, 'one who embarks'. The *ἐπιβάται* had nothing to do with the working of the ship, but in an engagement, if the ramming (*ἐμβολή*, viii. 87) failed, they had to make fast the grappling-irons (*χεῖρες σιδηροῖ*, Thuc. vii. 62) and board, or else stand behind the nettings (*παράρύματα*), and repel boarders. Thus they corresponded to our marines. Herodotus tells us (vi. 15) that the ships of the Chians in the Ionic revolt had each 40 *ἐπιβάται*, but the Athenians, who relied more on their skill as sailors, and preferred to sink their adversary at once, seem to have reduced the number to 10, for in

the Peloponnesian war we find 30 ships had 300 *ἐπιβόραι* (Arnold on Thuc. iii. 95).

*ib.* ἐντός—i.e. 'between the ships and the beach': μεταξὺ (=μετὰ-ὄν) is the more usual word for 'between'.

131. 1. *Πιερίην*—Once a supposed home of the Muses, whence their name *Πιερίδες*.

*ib.* διέτριβε—Compare the Latin '*tempus terere*'.

2. τὸ οὖρος—Better known as Mt. Olympus, the northern boundary of Thessaly.

*ib.* ἔκαρε—'Was clearing', of trees and other impediments. The root is probably *καρ*, to cut, from which come *κορμός* log, *κέρμα* slice, a small coin, *κουρά* shearing, *κεραίω* I cut in pieces, Lat. *curtus* cut short, docked, *cortex* bark, the part first cut, English 'shear'.

5. Ἑλλάδα—The word denotes (1) a city in N. Thessaly; (2) part of Thessaly itself; (3) Northern Greece, as opposed to the Peloponnesus; (4) the whole of Greece proper. In an extended sense ἡ μεγάλη Ἑλλάς or Magna Graecia is used for the south-eastern end of Italy, the sea-coast of which was covered with colonies from Greece.

*ib.* ἐπὶ αἰγῶν—The giving of earth and water to an invader meant total submission.

6. *καὶ*—Notice the accent, which distinguishes the word from *καίνοι* shortened form of *ἐκαίνοι*.

132. 2. *Δόλωνες*—They inhabited the eastern slope of Mt. Pindus, at the extreme west of Thessaly.

*ib.* Ἐνιήνες—Or, 'Aenianes': they occupied the upper valley of the Spercheius, shut in between Mt. Oeta on the south, and the western spur of Mt. Othrys on the north.

*ib.* *Λοκροί*—These are the Opuntian, not the Ozolian Locri, the latter of whom lived on the Gulf of Corinth. It will be seen from the map that the adhesion of these tribes gave Xerxes the command of almost all the seaboard from Thessaly to the north of Attica.

5. *Θεσπίων*—We read in ch. 222 that the Thespians remained and fell with the Spartans at Thermopylae.

*ib.* *Πλαταιών*—The Plataeans had the honour of fighting by the side of the Athenians at Marathon. Their city was

destroyed by Xerxes, and in 479 the final battle, which drove the Persians out of Greece, was fought close to its walls. For their services in the war, the Plataean territory was declared inviolate, but in the third year of the Peloponnesian war the Thebans persuaded the Spartans to destroy the town, which had been rebuilt, and put to the sword the inhabitants.

*ib.* ἐπὶ τούτοις—‘Against these.’ ἐπὶ with dative denotes usually something *following on*, e.g. τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ‘the things next after this’: cf. viii. 40, ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἐμελλον ποιήσασθαι, ‘in view of the matters that had happened they intended to hold a council.’

6. ἑταμον—A solemn oath was usually accompanied by the slaying of a victim and the shedding of blood, cf. the Latin *foedus ferire, icere*.

9. καταστάντων—‘When matters stood well with them’, cf. ch. 138, ἐν δέσματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ‘stood in great terror’: viii. 12, ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ‘were reduced to fear’.

10. δεκατεῦσαι—The words of the oath; they swore ‘to make these pay a tenth’, τούτους accusative after δεκατεῦσαι. The tithe was of course in property, the tribes were not themselves decimated, as some have thought.

133. 4. τὸ βάραθρον—A cleft at Athens behind the Acropolis, into which criminals were thrown, as at Rome from the Tarpeian rock. The Spartans had a similar pit called Καΐδας.

*ib.* φρέαρ—From the same root as the Scotch ‘burn’, a brook.

7. ὃ τι...γένησθαι—‘What unwelcome thing happened to befall the Athenians’. For ἀνεβέλητον, cf. ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι δχαρι, ch. 139.

*ib.* ποιήσασι—Governs two accusatives, ‘for doing this to the heralds’.

10. οὐ δοκέω—For this remark of Herodotus, see note on αὐτὸς ἐθέλων, ch. 191.

138. 2. λαύνα—Present tense, because the King’s pre-text, put into words, was ἐλαύνω ἐπ’ Ἀθήνας.

*ib.* κατέτετο—From καθίημι, ‘was directed’.

3. πρὸ πολλοῦ—‘Long before’, Lat. *longe antea*.

4. ἐποιεῦντο—Note on δευτέρα ἐποίησε, ch. 1.

5. πεισόμενοι—The Greek idiom keeps the future; they said οὐδὲν πεισόμεθα.

8. ἀριθμὸν—‘In number’, lit. ‘as to number’, see note on τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, ch. 60.

9. ἀντάπτεσθαι—‘To take part in’, lit. ‘lay hold of’: the verb, for the same reason as ἔχομαι (ch. 40) governs a partitive genitive of the thing laid hold of.

10. μηδίζόντων—‘Took the Persian side’, so Ἑλληνίζω (Hdt. iv. 44), Ἀττικίζω (Thuc. iii. 62), Φιλιππίζω (Demosth.), Μακεδονίζω (Plutarch, floruit cir. A.D. 100), Λακωνίζω (Plato, etc.), so Σωκρατέω (Aristoph.), cf. ἐπισκυθίζω, ‘pour in drink Scythian-fashion’, Hdt. vi. 84.

140. 1. θεοπρόπους—‘Sacred envoys’, those who πρέπουσι (show forth) τὰ τῶν θεῶν. The Attic equivalent is θεωρός, lit. ‘one who goes to see’.

3. τὰ νομιζόμενα—‘The customary rites’.

4. ὤοντο—The regular posture of suppliants. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 2, τίνας ποθ’ ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαύετε; Aesch. Supp. 184, ἀμειβόν ἐστι...πάγον προσίζει τῶνδ’ ἀγωνίων θεῶν.

5. χρᾶ—Of the oracle, to ‘declare’; ἀναιρεῖν is also used in the same sense: the middle voice, χρᾶσθαι, is of the questioners, to ‘consult’ the oracle, cf. next ch. χρᾶσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς κέτας.

6. λιπών—The prophetess changes suddenly from the plural to the singular; in the last line (ἴτρον) she uses the dual. The θεόπροποι were probably two in number.

9. μέσσης—i.e. πόλιος.

10. ἀζηλα πᾶσι—‘Unenvied’, ‘miserable’, i.e. ‘all things are in sad plight’.

11. Συριηγανὲς—‘Assyrian’. In the level plain of Mesopotamia, where the Assyrians lived, these chariots, which probably had scythes fixed on their axles, would be used to the greatest advantage.

14. βεβύμενοι—This was a well-known portent, cf. Livy xii. 1, *Romae signum Martis...sudasse*. Virg. Geor. i. 480,



*et moestum illacrimat templis ebur, aeraque sudant.* The phenomenon is often produced by a sudden change from cold to warm weather.

16. *προΐδόν*—‘Foreshadowing the constraints of misery’.

17. *ἄδυτοιο*—The *ἄδυτον* was the same as the *μέγαρον*, the ‘chamber’ in which the inspired priestess sat on the *τρεποῦς*, which was placed over a chasm in the earth, from which were supposed to rise the inspiring fumes. Other parts of the temple were the *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure in which the building stood, the *ναὸς*, the general term for the temple itself, and the *ναὸς* or shrine, probably corresponding to the *ἄδυτον*, in temples specially consecrated to some god, and not devoted to the giving of oracles. In the *ναὸς* would stand the image of the deity.

*ιβ. ἐπικίδνατε*—‘Spread a brave spirit over your ills’, L. and S. ‘Brood on the ills that await ye’, Rawlinson.

*ιβ. θυμόν*—The word is from a root which means ‘to move violently’, ‘to blow’, cf. *spiritus* from *spirare*. Connected with it are *θύω*, *θύω* I rush, *θύελλα* a storm, *θυιάς* a raging Bacchante, *θύμα*, *θυσιά* sacrifice, *θυίης* fragrant, *θύμον* thyme (i.e. the fragrant plant). It is the Latin *fumus*<sup>1</sup>, Eng. ‘dust’.

141. 2. *ἐχρέωντο*—*χρᾶσθαι* with a substantive is often a longer way of expressing a simple verb, thus in VIII. 87; *εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη* nearly=*εὐτυχήσασα*: VII. 210, *ἀναιδείῃ καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεώμενοι*=*ἀναιδεῖς καὶ ἀβουλοὶ ὄντες*, and here the meaning is simply ‘were in the deepest distress’. So in ch. 139, *ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο*=*ὡμολόγησαν ἂν*.

*ιβ. προβάλλουσι*—Not ‘when they threw themselves on the ground’, but, ‘when they were greatly cast down’, or, ‘gave themselves up for lost’.

5. *ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα*—i.e. *τῷ μάλιστα δοκίμῳ*, ‘of equal repute with him who was most so’, i.e. ‘of the highest reputation’.

6. *ἱκετηρίην*—‘A suppliant branch’, usually of olive. From an expression *ὑποσκήων ἐκ στομάτων* (Aesch. Supp. 641) they appear to have been held so as to hide the face.

*ιβ. δεύτερα αὐτίς*—This is what is called a pleonasm

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, § 259.

(πλέον more) when more is said than is needed to express the idea, cf. αὐθις αὖ πλέον, and below, αὐτῷ τῷδε, and our 'most Highest'.

7. χρᾶσθαι—See note on χρᾶ in preceding chapter.

ib. παθομένην—Governed by χρᾶ in line 12, transl. 'when they obeyed this'.

11. καὶ—See note on ch. 55.

14. Παλλὰς—The protecting goddess of Athens, as Juno of Carthage, Artemis of Ephesus.

16. πωλίσσας—'Bringing it near (i.e. making it like) to adamant'. It is not known whether adamant (ἀ, δαμῶ, the untameable) is granite or iron.

17. Κέκροπος οἶκος—The land of Attica, of which Cecrops was the first mythical king: Cithaeron was the mountain range that bounded it on the north-west.

19. Τριτογενῆ—An old legend represented Pallas as born at Lake Tritonis in Libya.

ib. διδοῖ—'Grants a wooden wall alone to remain undestroyed'.

21. μηδὲ σὺ μέναι—'Nor do thou quietly (ἄσυχος) await', μέναι for μέναι, infinitive for imperative.

23. ἔτι τοι—'At some future time thou shalt even (καὶ) withstand him face to face', i.e. fly from the Persian now, but soon ye shall meet him boldly in battle.

25. ἤ...συνιότης—'Either, I ween (τοι), when the corn-goddess is being scattered or gathered in', i.e. either at sowing time or at harvest.

142. 1. γὰρ—See note on ch. 4.

ib. καὶ...ἔσαν—'Both were and appeared to be', i.e. 'seemed, as indeed they were'. By the Greek idiom, the neuter plural ταῦτα takes a singular verb (ἦν, ἔδωκε).

2. ἀπαλλάσσοντο—'They departed'. ἀλλάσσω is connected with ἄλλος, ἀλλὰ 'but', ἀλλήλων, ἀλλότριος, Lat. *alius*, *alienus*, *aliquis*, Eng. 'else', and means 'to change', in the middle, to change oneself or one's position, and so to 'remove', 'depart'. See note on ἀμειψόμενος, VIII. 58.

5. καὶ ἄλλαι...καὶ αὖτε—Literally, 'there were both many other...and these', in English, 'amongst many other...there were these': cf. ch. 211, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι...καὶ φεύγεσκον, 'amongst many other exploits...they often fled': ch. 224, πίπτουσι ἄλλοι τε πολλοί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ..., 'amongst many others that fell, there were...'.  
 6. συνεστηκῦναι—'That stood up together', i.e. 'conflicting', cf. σύστασις γνώμης (Thuc.), 'a conflict of opinion'.  
 7. δοκίειν σφί—'That it seemed to them'.  
 8. περιέσσεσθαι—'Should survive', lit. 'remain over'; cf. ch. 188, αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν.  
 9. ῥηχῶ—'Had been guarded by a palisade (of wood)'.  
 10. κατὰ τὸν φραγμόν—'Answered to (εἶναι κατὰ) the palisade': cf. Hd. i. 121, πάτερα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιθραδάτην, 'thou wilt find a father that does not correspond to Mithradates'.  
 12. ἀπέντας—'Disregarding (ἀφίημι) everything else'.  
 14. ἑσφαλλε—τὰ δύο is the nominative, but invert the order and translate, 'those who said...were baffled by the two last...'.  
 18. ἔπος—'Lines', cf. iv. 29, ἔπος Ὀμήρου ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ, 'Homer's line in the Odyssey'.  
 id. συνεχέοντο—'Were confounded over (κατὰ, lit. with respect to) these lines'. χέω, unlike as the two words seem, is from the same root as the Latin *fundo*, it has lost a digamma, as is seen from the future χεύσω. Derivatives are in Greek χοή, χύσις etc., in Latin *fons* (=fontis), *effutire* to chatter, *pour* out words, *futillis* leaky. For initial *f* in Latin = Greek χ, cf. *fel* and *χολή*, *fervor* and *θερμός*, *fames* and *χάσις*.  
 20. ταύτη—'In this way, that (ὥς)'.  
 143. 1. ἐς πρότους—i.e. his origin was obscure, but he had lately taken his place among the leading statesmen of the day.  
 3. ἐκαλίετο—'The practice of addressing persons by their fathers' names was common in Greece. Ὡ παῖ Κλεωνίου, ὦ παῖ Ἰερωνύμου, &c., are usual forms in Plato, especially in addresses to the young'. (Rawlinson.)

6. *έόντως*—‘Really referred to’ (*είχε ές*).

*ib.* *οὐκ άν...χρησθήναι*—*άν* goes with *χρησθήναι*, not with *δοκέειν*, and is equivalent to *οτι οὐκ άν έχρήσθη*, while *οὕτω* goes with *ήπιως*: ‘he thought (*δοκέειν μιν*) that the oracle would not have been given...’. Remember<sup>1</sup> that *άν* in apodosis, with a secondary tense (imperfect, aorist) of the *indicative*, following a protasis containing *εί* with a secondary tense of the *indicative*, expresses what *would be* or *would have been* the result if the supposed condition had taken place, *which it has not*. So here, ‘if the oracle referred (*εί είχε*)’, or ‘had referred...it would not have been given’. For *χρησθήναι άν* (= *άν έχρήσθη*) cf. *άν γνώμενα* ch. 15, for *άν γίνοντο*.

8. *είπερ γε*—‘At least if, as it seemed (*περ*)’.

9. *άλλα γάρ*—See note on ch. 4.

10. *συλλαμβάνοντι*—‘If a man took it correctly’.

13. *άποφαινόμενους*—‘Declared himself’.

14. *έγνωσαν*—*γινώσκω* is to know and so to act upon your knowledge, to decide.

*ib.* *αίρετώτερα μάλλον*—Another instance of a pleonasm, note on *δέυτερα αὐτίς*, ch. 141.

15. *οὐκ έω*—‘Tried to prevent’, notice the imperfect. *οὐκ έω*=‘I prevent’, just as *οὐ φημι* (see line 4)=‘I deny’.

16. *τό δέ σόμμαιν εἶναι*—‘And in a word’. A similar *εἶναι*, untranslated in English, is used with *έκων* ‘willing’, after a negative; cf. viii. 116, *οὔτε αὐτός εἶπε έκων εἶναι δουλώσειν*, ‘refused himself to be a slave if he could help it’: viii. 30, *οὐκ έβασαν έσεσθαι έκόντες εἶναι προδόται*, ‘refused willingly to become the betrayers’. Compare our English expression, ‘To be sure!’

17. *έκλιπόντας*—*Phocæorum velut profugit exsecrata civitas*, Horace (B.C. 65—8) Epod. xvi. 17, rather than fall into the hands of Harpagus, Cyrus’ lieutenant.

18. *οἰκίζαν*—Such a total desertion of their fatherland as this implied was not, of course, the ordinary method of colonisation. A colony was, as a rule, not the result of compulsion, but of a wish on the part of those who composed it to try their fortunes elsewhere. It was regarded as an offshoot of the mother country, and paid respect to it as such.

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, § 42. 2.

175. 1. ἀπύκατο—For this form see Appendix.

2. ἐξ—‘By’, see note on ch. 18.

3. ἧ στήσονται—‘Where they should place the war’, i.e. in what part of Greece they should make a stand; what country they should make the ‘locale’, as we should say.

4. ἐν οἴοισι—‘And in what kind of ground’, i.e. what nature of country, hilly or level, would suit their small army best when arrayed against the vast host of the Persians. Some editors, not seeing the difference between ἧ and οἴοισι, have translated the former, ‘how they should begin the war’. For στήσονται (Greek ‘will place’, Eng. ‘should place’) see note on παύσει, ch. 54: they said, πῇ στησόμεθα;

ib. νικῶσα—‘Prevailing’, cf. VIII. 9, πολλῶν λεχθέντων ἐνίκα πορεύεσθαι, ‘it was decided to go’.

6. ἐφάνετο εὐῶσα—‘Evidently was’, note on ch. 14.

7. ἀγγιστήν—Comparative of ἀγγού, while ἀγγι has the irregular form ἄσσον. ἀγγι, ‘near’, is closely connected with ἀγγω, I press, choke, i.e. bring near, cf. the French *près*, from the Latin *pressē*. Other derivatives are ἀγγονή hanging, ἐναγγος lately, i.e. close to, ἐγγυς near, and metaphorically, ἄχος grief, i.e. what presses one, ἄχος a burden, ἀχθομαι: Latin *angor*, *angustus*, *angulus*, corner (where two walls come near), *angina*<sup>1</sup> quinsy (compression of the throat), *anxius*; English ‘anguish’.

ib. τῆς ἐωυτῶν—sc. γῆς, ‘nearer their own land’. For γῆ or a similar word omitted, cf. ch. 55 end, ἀντήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεινάντιον: VIII. 41, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν.

ib. δι’ ἣν—‘Because of which’. διὰ with accusative expresses the reason because of which, διὰ with genitive the agent by means of which, a thing was done.

9. εὐῶσαν—‘That it existed’.

ib. ἀπικόμενοι—A strong aorist, ‘after their arrival’, see note on πρήξας, ch. 38.

11. παρίεναι—‘To let pass’, from παρήμι.

13. Ἰστυαίωτιδος—The northern part of Euboea was thus known.

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, 190.

14. *δοτε πυνθάνεσθαι*—A shortened expression for *ὥστε αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι πυνθάνεσθαι*.

id. *τὰ κατὰ ἑκατέρου*—‘The things concerning one another’.

188. 1. *ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός*—The fleet of Xerxes consisted of (1) 1207 triremes from Asia, (2) 3000 penteconters and transport ships, (3) a few ships contributed by the European tribes who joined him. The triremes were manned by a crew of 200 men, of whom about 170 were rowers, the remaining 30 being *ἐπιβάται* or marines. The rowers sat in three rows, one a little above the other, the top row having the longest oars and the hardest work, and consequently the highest pay. These were called *θρανίται*, while the two succeeding rows were respectively *συγίται* and *θαλαμίται*. The average speed of a trireme is said to have been ‘about that of an ordinary steam-boat’. The penteconters were manned by 50 rowers, who all sat on the same level, 25 on each side. The Trireme had now just taken the place of the Penteconter as the war ship of the future.

2. *κατέσχε*—*κατέχειν ἐς*, like *κατάγεσθαι*, means ‘to put in to’, opposed to *ἀνάγεσθαι*, ‘to set sail’: *τῆς Μαγνητικῆς χώρας* must be taken after *ἀγυαλόν*.

4. *Σηπιάδος*—Sepias is the promontory at the extreme south of Magnesia; Castanea lies about 35 miles to the north-west of Sepias. The Persians could hardly have chosen a worse place to lie to, since the coast is harbourless and perfectly open to the north and east.

5. *ἐπ’ ἑκάστην*—‘Next to these’.

7. *πρόκροσσαι*—‘They were moored in rows, turned towards the sea’. The exact meaning of *πρόκροσσαι* is doubtful: *κρόσσαι* means ‘battlements’, or rather a series of battlements, which from their continued rise and fall would give the observer the idea of a ‘row’. So here, the ships were moored in rows, eight deep (*ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πύκτας*), and turned towards the sea, while the *πρώται τῶν νεῶν* were moored by their prows to the land.

id. *ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πύκτας*—Cf. Thuc. iv. 93, *ἐπὶ δωδεκάς πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἐτάξαντο*, ‘drew themselves up five and twenty shields deep’. So *πλεῖν ἐπὶ κέρας* is ‘to sail towards the wing’, i.e. in column.

8. εὐφρόνην—For the case, see note on ch. 54.

ib. οὕτω—sc. ὁρμέοντο.

ib. ἐξ—‘Instead of’, note on ch. 18.

9. αἰθρίης—The word is connected with αἶθειν, ‘to be bright, to burn’; we have also αἰθήρ, and the Latin *aestas* (= *aedtas*) summer, i.e. the bright time; *aestus* heat, tide, from the wavy motion common to each; *aedes* house, temple, originally hearth, fire-place; *aedilis*, originally temple-inspector.

ib. νηνεμῖης—From νῆ not, and ἄνεμος wind.

10. πολλός—‘Strong’, cf. πολὺς ἦν ὁ Θερμοστοκλής, viii. 59, and note there. Add Ovid (B.C. 43—A.D. 18) Met. xiv. 53, *medio quum plurimus orbe sol erat*, i.e. ‘very powerful’.

11. Ἑλλησποντίην—Names of winds often end in -ίας, cf. Aristophanes (B.C. 444—380?) Eq. 437, καικίας καὶ συκοφαντίας πνέει, ‘there blows a north wind and a—sycophant wind’.

12. ἔμαθον—Note on ch. 46.

13. τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε—Note on ch. 60.

ib. οἱ δὲ—This ‘δὲ in apodosis’ is pleonastic, and is not translated in English.

ib. ἐφθησαν...δνασπασάντες—Just like ἐλάτθανον ἀναβαλόντες in ch. 218, see note there. φθάνω is ‘to be beforehand’, ‘to be the first’, and is followed by a participle instead of an infinitive, like διατελέω, ‘to continue to...’; e.g. ‘he continued to prosper’ is διετέλει εὖ πράττων, not εὖ πράττειν.

15. μεταρσίας—‘It (ὁ χειμὼν) caught in the open sea’: μετάρσιος, like μετέωρος, is properly ‘raised on high’, on the high seas, as we say.

16. Ἴπνους καλομένους—‘The so-called “Ovens”’. A shortened form of πρὸς τὰς πέτρας τὰς Ἴπνους καλομένας: we have the full form in viii. 77, τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλομένην, and something like the shortened form in vii. 40, ἱπὸ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵπποι, i.e. ‘sacred horses, called Nisaeon horses’. These ‘Ovens’ are supposed to have been about five miles south of Castanea, at the foot of Mt. Pelion.

19. ἐξβράσσοντο—‘Were hurled ashore’, cf. ch. 190, ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνέλητο. βράσσω means ‘to boil’: the name of

the Spartan hero, *Βρασιδας*, is probably from the same root, and means Hot-head<sup>1</sup>.

1b. τοῦ χαμῶνος χρῆμα—Almost = ὁ χειμῶν, like μέγα χρῆμα ὕβς, 'a mighty sight of a pig': cf. βίη Ἀλκυονίδος, i.e. 'the mighty Alc.', and Milton's imitation, 'where the might of Gabriel fought'.

190. 1. πόνος—Here of a disaster at sea, as in viii. 89, of a battle at sea, but in vii. 224, Λεωνίδης ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, of a struggle on land.

1b. οὐ—'Those who say that fewest perished, say there perished...' sc. λέγουσι διαφθαῖναι with οὐκ ἐλάσσονας. The emphasis being on ἐλαχίστας, we may translate, 'the smallest estimate of the loss set it as...'

5. μέγας—Goes with χρηστή: Herodotus often separates the adverb from the word it qualifies, cf. ch. 143, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκεῖν ἥπιος χρησθῆναι, where οὕτω goes with ἥπιος: so, too, he separates substantives from the word that governs them, cf. ch. 100, last clause, where τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, like τῶν πρυμνίων, is governed by ἐπὶ.

7. ἀναλετο—'Recovered for himself'.

1b. θησαυροὺς—'Treasure chests'.

8. ἀλλα—i.e. 'gold coin besides', cf. viii. 89, τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, note.

1b. περιέβαλετο—Literally, 'put round himself', i.e. 'acquired', cf. viii. 8, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιέβαλετο.

9. οὐκ εὐτυχέων—For the translation of the emphatic participle, see note on ἀνατιθεῖς, ch. 54.

10. ἦν γάρ—The καὶ seems out of its place, and should be taken as strengthening the γάρ. δῆχαις has already occurred in the sense of 'grievous', ch. 188. Translate, 'for indeed there was a grievous misfortune connected with the death (or, murder) of his children that saddened him'. Whether by παιδοφόνος is meant that Ameinocles had killed his own children, by accident or otherwise, is uncertain. Perhaps, after all, καὶ may go with τούτων, and so mean 'that vexed him as well as others', i.e. he, like all men, had his particular sorrow. Notice the accent on παιδοφόνος, 'child-slaying', actively, while παιδόφονος would have meant 'slain by a child', passively.

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, 574.



191. 2. οὐκ ἐπὶν—'Was not possible', L. and S. Perhaps however the sense is more what is conveyed by the Latin *non exstabat*, i.e. 'there was no calculation made'.

4. ἐπιθώνται—Ionic for ἐπιθῶνται, from ἐπιτίθημι.

ib. Θεσσαλοὶ—The Thessalians had joined Xerxes, but the Persian captains were afraid they might now turn upon them.

6. καταείδοντες—Compare with this supposed influence of the magicians over the wind, the power of the Thessalian witches to draw down the moon from the sky.

7. πρὸς τούτοις—'In addition to this'.

8. ἢ ἄλλως κως—Herodotus drily suggests that perhaps after all it was not so much the magicians who stopped the wind, as that it stopped of its own accord. He is only credulous up to a certain point, and then his common sense steps in, and decides the matter for him. He can believe, for instance, (VIII. 13 end) that the second terrible storm that overtook the Persian fleet was all the work of heaven (ἐποίητο τὸ πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ), destined to put the two armaments on a more equal footing.

10. Ἰόνων—The Ionic Greeks had been forced to join in the expedition against their fatherland. Inhabiting the west coast of Asia Minor, they had been separated from Persia by the intervening dominions of Croesus king of Lydia, but when Croesus was reduced by Cyrus of Persia, they fell under the same conqueror, and their unsuccessful revolt only made their condition worse.

201. 1. Βασιλεὺς—Note on ch. 5.

4. Θερμοπύλαι—'Hot Gates', so called from the springs in the pass. The main features of the pass are now materially altered, the deposit brought down by the river Spercheius having pushed out the coast line so far, that the narrowest part is now at least three miles wide.

7. ἐπεκράτει—'Was master of all that lay towards (ἐχόντων πρὸς) the north'.

9. νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην—νότος is the south-west, the quarter of the νότιοι ἄνεμοι or rainy winds, μεσαμβρία (μέση, ἡμέρα) the south, where the sun is at midday.

ιβ. τὸ ἐπὶ—i.e. 'as far as the mainland of Greece extended southwards'.

202. 3. ὀπλίται—The ὀπλίτης, or heavy-armed warrior, carried a long pike (δόρυ), and a large shield (σπῆον) that completely covered his body. The πελταστής, or light-armed soldier, on the contrary, had a small πέλας, or target, on his left arm, and carried a short sword and light javelins for throwing.

ιβ. Τεγεαῖον—The Arcadians deserve more credit than they have hitherto got, for their patriotic conduct. We see here that they supplied 2120 men in all, more than two-thirds of the whole Peloponnesian force, which is here set down as 3100.

3. Φλίσιντος—Phlius was a semi-independent state, once a tributary of Argos: it was situated about half-way between Corinth and Orchomenus, on the river Asopus.

ιβ. Μυκηναίων—Mycenae, although not what it had been in the days of Agamemnon, still retained its independence. It was not till 12 years after this (in 468) that the Argives, angry perhaps at the devotion which the Mycenaeans now showed to the cause of Greece, attacked the town, and utterly destroyed it. Something of its ancient magnificence has of late been made known to us by the researches of Dr Schliemann.

203. 1. Λοκροί—The Opuntian Locrians had probably repented of their submission made (ch. 132) to the king, and came πανστρατίῃ to shew the sincerity of their repentance. Their adhesion, with that of the Phocians, brought up the Greek force at Thermopylae to at least 6000 men, thus,

Arcadians .....	2120
Spartans (ὀπλίται) .....	300
Other Peloponnesians .....	680
Boeotians .....	1100
Locrians, say .....	800
Phocians .....	1000
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>6000</b>

Pausanias (flourished A.D. 170) says there were 6000 Locrians, but this seems far too high an estimate. The 300 Spartan hoplites does not represent the whole force sent by Sparta,

since each hoplite would have at least one attendant; other writers put the number of Spartans present at 1000.

3. οἱ Ἕλληνες—i. e. the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae.

4. ἦκοιεν—'Were come', not 'would come'. Latin *se venisse*; notice the difference between the Greek and Latin *oratio obliqua*.

5. πᾶσαν ἡμέρην—For the accusative, see note on ch. 54.

6. σφί εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ—'Was guarded by them'; for εἶναι ἐν in Herodotus, cf. viii. 99, ἦσαν ἐν θυσιῇσι τε καὶ εὐπαθίῃσι: vii. 15, οἱ πάντως ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστί.

8. σφί εἴη—'They had nothing to fear', sc. λέγοντες ὡς. The Phocians and Locrians specially needed reassuring, because, Thermopylae once passed or turned in flank, their territory would be the next the Persians would occupy.

10. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένου—'From the moment of his birth'.

11. οὐ συνεμίχθη—We had, in ch. 40, the active used in a somewhat similar use, οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεῖ. The word often occurs in the sense of 'mingling in conflict', like the Latin *conserere manum*, ch. 211, ὡς συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι: ch. 226, πρὶν ἢ συμμῆσαι σφέας τοῖσι Μήδοις. In viii. 58 another meaning, 'to share with', 'communicate', appears, θέλων οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῆσαι.

13. πεσέειν ἄν—Herodotus often inserts ἄν in final clauses with ὡς, ὅφρα, &c., without any perceptible alteration in the sense<sup>1</sup>. The present instance is very similar, since πεσέειν ἄν can be resolved into οἱ πέσοι ἄν.

14. ἐβοήθειον ἐς—'Came to help to...', a very common phrase in Hdt. and Thuc.

204. 1. τούτοις—'These indeed had different generals'.

206. 1. τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην—'Leonidas and his men', or 'those with L.', cf. ch. 223, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες.

3. στρατεύονται...μηδίσωσι—Instead of being changed into the optative after ἀπέπεμψαν, these words are kept in the

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, § 44, Note 3.

subjunctive, thus giving the very words of the Spartans, who said ἀποπέμπομεν ἵνα στρατεύωνται, μηδὲ...μηδίσωσι.

4. ἦν αὐτοῖς—‘If they should hear that they (the Spartans) were lingering’.

5. Κάρνεια—A yearly festival to Apollo Carneius, celebrated in August.

6. ἦν ἐμποδῶν—See Thuc. iv. 5, where the Spartans ἐορτήν τινα ἐτυχον ἄγοντες, and so allowed Demosthenes to fortify Pylus undisturbed; so that this over-regard for religious services sometimes cost the Spartans dearly. See too Thuc. v. 54, Καρνείας δ’ ἦν μὴν, ἱερομήνια Δωριεῦσι.

ib. ὀρτάσαντες—‘After finishing the feast’, see note on πρήξας, ch. 38.

8. ὤς—Notice the accent, which denotes that the meaning is different from the ordinary ὡς.

ib. ἐνεώωντο—‘Had been minded (νοέομαι) themselves also’.

9. Ὀλυμπιάς—‘The Olympic games’, generally called Ὀλύμπια, so named from Olympia in Elis where they were celebrated every four years. The first celebration was in B.C. 776. The Greeks reckoned time by these games, the four years’ interval that elapsed between them being called an Olympiad, and they took for their starting-point the first festival, just as we take the birth of Christ. Thus B.C. 776 was the first Olympiad, B.C. 775 the first Olympiad and one year, B.C. 772 the second Olympiad, and so on.

10. οὐκὼν—Note on ch. 15.

11. κατὰ τάχος οὕτως—Another instance of οὕτω misplaced. It properly goes before κατὰ τάχος, see note on μεγάλως, ch. 190.

ib. διακριθῆσθαι—‘Would be decided’. κρίνω and the Latin *cerno*, ‘I see’, are from the same root, which means to separate or cut. In Greek the word is generally restricted to cutting or measuring out justice or decisions, while in Latin the idea is to *separate* things from one another by the eyes, i.e. to *see* them.

207. 2. πῶς τῆς ἐσβολῆς—‘Near the entrance’. Latin has only two cases which are ‘governed’ by prepositions, the accusative and ablative; Greek has three, the accusative, dative,

and genitive. But even in Greek the true genitive was originally never joined with prepositions unless there was a clear *noun* sense in those prepositions for the genitive to depend upon, thus *ἀντὶ*, 'instead of', was originally regarded as a case of a true noun, 'in the *stead*', and the genitive that followed depended on the noun. By degrees this dependence became obscured, but the Latin fully bears out the view, where the genitive only occurs after such obvious noun-forms as *causā*, *gratiā*. *πέλας* then is a substantive, probably an old ablative form (cf. *ἀτρεμάς*, *ἐκάς*), and means 'in the vicinity'.

3. ἀπαλλαγῆς—We have already had the verb ἀπαλλάσσομαι, meaning 'to depart'.

5. ἰδοῦσι...ἔχειν—'To go...and hold'.

6. περισπερχέοντων—'Were very eager'. For other instances of this intensive *περί*, see note on ch. 15. In form it is the same as the preposition *περί*, with which it probably has no connection, but is derived from *πέρα*, 'beyond', and so 'excessive'. The original meaning is seen in *pereger*, a foreigner, i.e. one who lives *beyond* our land; compare *perende*, which properly means 'a day *beyond*', but is specialized to mean 'the day after to-morrow'.

9. ὀλίγων—'Too few to repulse'.

208. 2. ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ...ποιέουσιν—The change of mood is to be noticed; Xerxes said, 'see ὁκόσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ὃ τι ποίεουσιν'.

4. ἀλισμένη—'Collected'. We have had the active in ch. 12, προείπας ἀλίζειν Πέρσας στρατὸν, and cf. ch. 211, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν, 'they pretended to fly *in a body*'. The word is from the same root as *εἰλω* press, *δολλέες* crowded, *ἡλιαῖα* the 'crowded assembly', *ἄλις* enough, lit. 'in abundance'.

5. τοὺς ἡγεμόνας—For the construction see note on ch. 18, στόλον ὡς ἐπρήξε.

7. Ἡρακλείδης—The royal race of Sparta was supposed to be descended from Hyllus, son of Hercules.

8. κατέρρα—Attic καθεώρα, imperfect of καθοράω.

9. ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον—A good instance of the difference between the aorist and imperfect, the aorist implying a single definite act in the past ('they had raised'), the imperfect a con-

tinuous uncompleted act ('and were guarding'). Cf. viii. 64, *ἡμέρη τε ἐγένετο καὶ σεισμός ἐγένετο*, and note there.

10. *οἶά τε ἦν*—*οἶός τέ εἰμι* means 'I am the sort of man', and so, 'I am able'; it has passed into a phrase, and here means 'it was possible'. The *τε* is one of those instances referred to in the end of the note on *ἐπεί τε*, ch. 43, where the *τε* is kept in Attic, but not translated.

11. *τοῖσι...τὰ δπλα ἔκαστο*—'Whose arms were placed', *κῆμαι* being virtually the passive of *τίθηναι*. See viii. 41, where *ἔσπευσαν ταῦτα ὑπεκτίσθαι* is followed in the end of the chapter by *ὡς δὲ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο*.

12. *ἔτυχον τετραγμένοι*—'Happened to be drawn up', like *ἐφθησαν ἀνασπασάντες*, ch. 188.

14. *τὰς κόμας*—Long hair was once a characteristic of all the Greeks, if we may judge from Homer's *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*, and the Spartans always wore it so. Shortly before the time of Thucydides, the custom of wearing it in a knot, fastened up with golden grasshoppers (Thuc. i. 6), was given up, and it was worn long only by youths till about their eighteenth year, when it was cut off and dedicated to some deity. To wear long hair after this age was considered a mark of effeminacy, except among the knights.

17. *ἀλογίης*—'He was treated with (lit. met with) complete disregard' or 'contempt': cp. ch. 226, *ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλῆθος*, 'despising the multitude of the Persians'.

209. 1. *οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλέσθαι*—Like *οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι* in ch. 60, 'was not able to guess'.

*id.* *τὸ ἔδν, ὅτι*—'The truth, that...'. For this emphatic sense of *ἔδν*, cf. viii. 41, *ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήρῃ ἐπιτελείουσι*, 'perform offerings to it (the snake), as though it really existed', and the adverb *ἐόντως*, 'really', ch. 143.

3. *ἐφαίνοντο ποῖαν*—For the distinction between this and *ἐφαίνοντο ποιῶντες*, see note on ch. 14.

7. *καὶ πρότερον*—i.e. 'before as well as now'.

9. *γέλανά με ἔβην*—'You made me your laughingstock', middle voice, 'when I told you what I saw (*τάςτερ ὤρων*) would happen'.

10. *τὴν ἀληθειᾶν*—The Persians considered lying the worst vice of all, see Hdt. i. 138, the next worst was to owe money, because the very position of a debtor argued a kind of untruth. This is the force of the expression in the end of this chapter, *ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύσῃ*, i. e. 'deal with me as the worst of men'.

11. *ἀγὼν μέγιστος*—'My highest endeavour'.

12. *οἱ ἄνδρες*—Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, was the very best man to give Xerxes information about the Spartans.

15. *κοσµέονται*—Nelson had a similar custom. 'He wore that day (Trafalgar), as usual, his admiral's frock-coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of the different orders with which he was invested. Ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy were beheld with ominous apprehension by his officers'. Southey, *Life of Nelson*, p. 333.

16. *ὑπομένον*—'What remains behind', but *ὑπομένει* below is 'will withstand thee'.

18. *χείρας ἀνταειρόμενον*—Cf. ch. 143 end, *οὐδὲ χείρας ἀνταίρῃσθαι*.

19. *βασιλῆτην*—We may understand *καλλίστην* from what follows, 'the finest kingdom and city': or it may be perhaps better to take *βασιλῆτην* by itself, in the sense of 'a kingdom', as distinguished from the other petty republics, and therefore more worthy of consideration.

20. *προσφέρειν*—Either (1) 'thou hast to deal with', or (2) 'thou art attacking', cf. 210, *ὡς δ' ἐπέτεσον φερόμενα*.

*ιβ. ἀρίστους*—The Spartan infantry were known, as were the Athenian seamen, to be the best of their kind. Their supremacy remained uncontested until the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371, when they had to yield to the Theban attack in column.

22. *ὄντινα τρόπον*—For the adverbial accusative see note on ch. 60.

*ιβ. τοσούτοι*—i. e. 'so few'.

24. *χρᾶσθαι*—Infinitive for imperative, as in ch. 141, *μηδέ σὺ γ' ἐπιοσύνην τε μένεις...ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν*.

*ib.* ταύτη ἐκβῆ τῇ—‘Shall turn out in the way which’. ἐὰν with subjunctive should always be translated ‘if it shall’, distinguishing it from εἰ with indicative and with optative, thus εἰ ἔχει is ‘if he has’, ἐὰν ἔχῃ, ‘if he shall have’, εἰ ἔχοι, ‘if he were to have’.

210. 2. αἰεὶ—Attic αἰεῖ, Homeric αἰέν, is from a root that probably means ‘to go’, thus αἰών, time, is that which is always ‘on the move’, cf. αἰ-διος everlasting, Latin *aevum*, *aeternus* (= *aeviternus*), *aetas* (= *aevitas*).

5. διαχρᾶμενοι—The force of the preposition is ‘displaying to the full’, ‘making a thorough show of’: cf. the compounds ἀποχράομαι ‘use to the full’, καταχράομαι ‘use up’, ‘destroy’, παραχράομαι ‘misuse’, ‘disregard’, see ch. 223, end.

6. Κισσίου—Cissia was the Elam of Scripture, and its capital was Susa, cf. Daniel viii. 2, ‘I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam’: Acts ii. 9, ‘Parthians and Medes and Elamites’. Cissia was bounded on the west and south by the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, on the north by Assyria.

7. λωγῆσαντας ἄγειν—‘To take them alive and bring them’: λωγῶ from ζῶν, ἀγῶ I hunt.

*ib.* ἐπέπεσον...ἐπιπτον—‘When they fell upon (aorist, single act)...many were falling’, imperfect, continued act; note on ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον, ch. 208.

9. καίπερ—‘Although’, always followed by a participle, as is ἄτε, cf. ἄτε μαχόμενοι, 211.

10. προσπαιλόντες—Cf. προσπαισάντων τῶν πρώτων, ch. 22, note there.

*ib.* παντὶ τεφ—τεφ for τῷ, ‘to every one’.

11. ἀνθρώποι...ἄνδρες—So Cicero, writing to his brother Quintus (ii. 11), says, ‘If you appreciate the genius of Lucretius, *virum te putabo* (I’ll think you a true man); but if you manage to get to the end of some other dry treatise, *hominem non putabo*’, ‘I shall not think you a human being at all’. Cf. too Cic. Verr. 5. 31, ‘*Sic vixit Verres ut vir accumberet (sat at table) nemo praeter ipsum et filium: etsi recte dixeram virum, cum isti essent, neminem fuisse*’.

12. δι’ ἡμέρας—‘Was going on (ἐγλυερο, imperfect) all



through the day', cf. VI. 12, *παρείχε τοῖσι Ἴωσι πόνον δι' ἡμέρας*, 'was giving the Ionians work all day long': also of distance 'through which', VIII. 71, *οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τείχος*, 'right across the isthmus'.

211. 1. *τρηχέως περιείποντο*—'Were being roughly handled'. *ἔπω* (better known in the middle *ἔπομαι* I follow) means 'I busy myself about something', the passive *ἔπομαι*, only used in compounds, is 'I am treated'. Other compounds are *ἀμφιέπω* tend, *διέπω* manage, *ἐφέπω* accompany, *μεθέπω* pursue, carry through. *ἔπομαι* (= *σέπομαι*) is the Latin *sequor*, from which come *secundus* favourable, lit. *following*, *pedissequa* lackey, *socius* ally.

2. *ὑπεξήϊσαν*—For the meaning of verbs compounded with *ὑπεκ-*, see on *ὑπεκθέσθαι*, VIII. 41.

*ιδ.* *ἐκδεξάμενοι*—'Taking their place'.

4. *ὥς δὴ*—The *δὴ* is ironical, 'as though, of course', like *φεύγεσκον δῆθεν* below, 'pretended to fly'. *γε* emphasises *οὔτοι*, having much the same effect as to print the word in italics would have in English.

5. *εὐπετέως*—'Easily', lit. 'favourably', from *εὖ*, *πίπτω*, a metaphor from dice *falling* well. Metaphors of this kind were not uncommon, Thuc. has *ἀναρριπτεῖν κίνδυνον*, 'to hazard the throw of danger', and Aeschylus has *τύχαι εὐπροσώποικαι*, 'fortunes that fall and show a favourable face (*προσώπον*)'.

6. *οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο*—'Advanced not a whit the more', cf. *ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι*, last ch.

7. *ἄτε...μαχόμενοι*—'Since they fought', see note on *καίπερ*, ch. 210.

8. *βραχυτέροισι*—In fighting at a distance, the Greeks would, as a rule, throw their spears, the Persians would use bows and arrows. But the fighting at Thermopylae seems to have been entirely a hand-to-hand affair, and so the Persians, with their shorter weapons, would not be able to reach the Greeks over the close hedge of long pikes that barred the pass.

10. *δέλως λόγου*—'In a manner worthy of their reputation', cf. VIII. 10, end, *Ἀθηναίων λόγος ἦν πλείστος*, 'the reputation of the Athenians was very high'.

*ib.* ἄλλα τε...καί—See note on ch. 142.

11. ἔμπειστοί τε—‘Knowing full well’: the force of the preposition must not be disregarded, so κατέβαλλον, l. 16, ‘shot down’.

14. καταλαβανόμενοι—‘When overtaken’.

*ib.* ὑπώστροφον ἄν—ἄν with the imperfect often denotes repeated action, as we say ‘would turn about’, cf. Aristoph. Plut. 1011, νηττάριον ἄν καὶ φάττιον ὑπεκορίζετο, ‘he would call me fond names, little duck and dove’.

15. μεταστροφόμενοι—‘Wheeling round’: μετὰ in compounds often denotes ‘change’, see note on μεταδεδογμένον, ch. 13.

18. παραλαβάν—οὐδέν is accusative after παραλαβεῖν, ‘to get no advantage’, while τῆς ἐσοδοῦ is governed by πειρεώμενοι, ‘in their attempts on the pass’.

19. κατὰ τοῖα—‘When they attacked both by divisions and in every other way’, cf. κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη, ch. 212,

212. 1. οἱ βάρβαροι—βάρβαρος and the Latin *barbus* (stammering) are from the same root, meaning probably ‘unintelligible’, the Greeks naming all foreigners alike from the (to them) indistinctness of their speech. Thus Aristophanes speaks of the birds as βάρβαροι, i.e. ‘inarticulate’. The Egyptians, according to Herod. (ii. 158), called by the name of ‘barbari’ all those μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους. The term ‘Berbers’, applied to the Moors, is the same; Gibbon thinks (ch. 51, note) that it ‘was borrowed from the Latin provincials [settled in N. Africa] by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the Northern Coast of Africa’.

3. ὀλίγων—‘Since the Greeks were few in number’.

6. ἔθνη—ἔθνος means (1) a collection of people, a crowd, (2) as here, a tribe, (3) in the New Test. τὰ ἔθνη = the nations, the other nations, the Gentiles, as opposed to the Jews.

*ib.* ἐν μέσῳ—i.e. relieving one another in turn at the front of the battle.

8. οὐδὲν ἄλλοιότερον—‘Found nothing different to what...’ ἄλλοιός is sometimes used of a change for the worse, ἴσα μὴ τι

ἀλλοῖον περὶ σεῦ βουλευσονται, 'that they may not make some unfavourable decision...'. So the adverb ἄλλως means 'otherwise than is right', i.e. 'in vain'. Some think that ἀλλοῖον here is used in a good sense, 'found nothing better', but the sense given above appears to be the true one.

213. 1. χρήσεται—Translate 'what he *should* do': Xerxes said ἀπορῶ ὅτι χρῆσομαι, just as, below, Epialtes thought δοκέω ὀσεσθαι, and the Greek idiom, to give more vividness to the story, keeps the verb in the same tense. See on παύσει, ch. 54.

5. τὴν ἄτραπον—Brennus and his Gauls are said to have used this same path in their passage into Greece. A similar path was the ultimate cause of the surrender of the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 86). They were defending themselves with some success, when a Messenian led a small Athenian force round by a path over the cliffs, and appeared in the Spartan rear.

9. Ἀμφικτυόνων—The Amphictyonic council represented the *religious* union of the Hellenic tribes, the word meaning those who 'dwell around', 'neighbours'. It was in no sense a *federal* union, or league for offensive or defensive warfare, such as the United States of America, or the Cantons of Switzerland. At first there was nothing political about it, and its chief object was to be a court regulating matters of religion, especially the religion of warfare, and to preserve the honour of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Thus Athens and Sparta were not directly represented at the Council, but only appeared as part of the Ionic and Dorian tribes respectively. The union probably originated in the south of Thessaly, and this will account for such small tribes as Malians and Oetaeans ranking equally with Ionians and Dorians. Each tribe sent two or three deputies, certain of which were called Πυλαγόροι, to the meetings of the Council, which were held at the temple of Demeter at Thermopylae in the autumn, at the temple of Apollo at Delphi in the spring. In after times the authority of the Amphictyons in matters of religion was taken advantage of by states who wished to serve a political purpose; thus they were induced to proclaim a sacred war against the Phocians for cultivating some consecrated land.

10. ἐπεκνήχθη αὐτῷ—'Was set on his head'.

ib. καθήλθε—κατέρχομαι, καθόδης are the regular words used of an exile's return to his native land.

11. Ἀντικύρην—Probably his native place, as Anticyra was an island in the Malian Gulf. It was celebrated for producing the hellebore, a herb supposed to cure madness, cf. Hor. A. P. 800, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*, and, speaking of a supposed madman, he says (*Sat.* II. 3. 166), *Naviget Anticyram*.

14. σημαίνε—This promise is never fulfilled. Herodotus probably did not live to complete his history, in the sense of fully revising it, though he brings the story of the Persian wars to a proper conclusion.

215. 1. ἡρεσε—Read *ηρεσε*. A nominative must be understood out of τὰ, 'since those things pleased him which...'; and so below *επεμπε τῶν ἐστρατήγεω Ἰθάρης*, an accusative has to be supplied out of τῶν.

4. περὶ λέχων δόδε—The time of day, when there were no clocks, was best marked by men's different occupations, so we have *ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην*, ch. 223, 'about the time of full market'; and *περὶ πληθουσας ἀγορὰν* in the same sense. Other instances are, *μέχρις οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος*, Hdt. III. 104, 'until the breaking up of the market'; *βουλευτόνδε*, 'towards evening', lit. 'the loosening of the oxen', Horace's '*sol ubi... juga demeret bobus fatigatis: ἥλιχ' ἔσπεροι λαμπτήρες εὐκέτ' ἦθον*', Soph. *Ajax* 285; and cf. 1 Kings xix. 36 'It came to pass, about the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice'.

5. δόδε—ἄπτω is properly 'I tie'; 'fasten'; in the middle, 'I touch', and the idea of 'kindling' a fire comes from the notion of contact. Derivatives are *ἀπάτη* deceit, properly 'fastening', *ἀπαπίσκω* deceive, while *ἄμμα* knot, and *ἀπήνη* team (cf. *jugum* from *jungo*) retain the original meaning. Latin *apiscor*, *adipiscor*, *aptus*.

7. κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ—'Guided against', *καθηγέομαι* taking a dative after it as in VI. 102, *ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἰππῆης*. Others have translated, 'told it to the Thessalians to the injury of the Phocians', but the verb is common in Herod. in the meaning first given.

9. ἦσαν ἐν—See note on ch. 203.

ib. ἐκ τόσου θῆ—sc. χρόνου, 'from so very (θῆ) long ago'.

9. κατεδεδεκτο—‘It had been proved (καταδεικνυμι) no good to the Malians’, i.e. they had always made a bad use of this path.

217. 1. οὕτω ἔχουσιν—We must paraphrase, to get the right meaning: ‘Such then was the path, and such its nature, by which...’.

4. τε...καί—‘As soon as...then’; for other instances, see on VIII. 84.

ib. διέφαινε...ἐγένοντο—Here again, as in ch. 208 (ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον), the imperfect denotes a continuous, the aorist a momentary act: ‘day was dawning, they found themselves’.

5. κατὰ τοῦτο—‘At this point’.

9. ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρηται—The fuller form would be ὑπὸ ἐκείνων οὓς εἰρηται, cf. ch. 89, ἐκέλευε τοῖσι (= ἐκείνους οἰσι) προσετέτακτο: ch. 215, ἐπεμπε τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ἰδάρης.

10. ὑποδεξάμενοι—‘Undertaking it for’, or, ‘under a promise to Leonidas’.

218. 1. ἔμαθον—See note on ch. 46.

2. ἀναβαλόντες ἐλάνθανον—So ἐλάνθανε ἔχων, VIII. 5, ‘secretly kept’, lit. ‘escaped notice keeping’. Sometimes the construction is reversed, and λανθάνω put in the participle, as in VIII. 75, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται.

ib. τὸ οὖρος ἔδν—Probably not governed by ἀναβαλόντες, but an accusative absolute, ‘since the whole mountain was’.

8. ἐνεκύρησαν—Here with the dative, in ch. 208 it occurred with the genitive, ἀλογίης ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς.

9. καταρροδῆσας—His experience of the past few days had taught Hydarnes to have a seasonable dread of the Spartan soldier.

10. ποδαπὸς—Latin *cujus?* of what country?

12. ὡς ἐς μάχην—Simply, ‘for battle’, not, ‘as if for battle’, so below, l. 15, παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι, ‘prepared to die’. So in ch. 213, ὡς δοκῶν οἰσεσθαι, ‘thinking that he would get’.

14. ἐπιστάμενοι—Not, as generally, ‘knowing’, but, ‘thinking’, or, as we say, ‘making sure’, cf. VIII. 97.

15. ἀρχήν—Literally, 'as a beginning', i.e. 'on purpose', 'expressly', so in vii. 220, ἐς τὴν ἡλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν, 'to which they came on purpose to guard it'.

17. ἐποιεῦντο—'took no heed of', 'made of no account', Lat. *minimi, flocci facere*.

222. 1. ἀποπεμπόμενοι—In spite of their successful resistance, many of the Greeks had wished to retreat from Thermopylae, and accordingly Leonidas sent away all the other allies except those here specially mentioned as staying. Besides the glory he would win for himself and his nation, a further inducement to Leonidas to stay had been an oracle which declared that Sparta must lose either her king or her city, so he prepared to sacrifice himself for his country.

ib. ὄχοντο—ὄχομαι is 'I am gone', ὄχοντο, 'were gone', cf. ὄχοντο φεύγοντες in the last ch.

2. ἀτιόντες—εἰμι, 'I will go', loses its future sense in the participle and other moods.

4. Θηβαῖοι—One does not quite see how the Thebans, 400 in number (ch. 202), *could* have been detained against their will by only 300 Spartans, some of whom had already fallen. But we must remember that these Spartans had each at least one attendant, and probably more than one, and no doubt the Thespians would give their assistance. The best view of the case, however, is to suppose that Herodotus is mistaken, and that the Thebans did remain willingly, not indeed that they might resist the Persians to the last, as the Spartans did, but that they might gain favour with Xerxes by going over to his side in the middle of the final struggle. After Thermopylae the Thebans certainly sided openly with Xerxes, and now, to excuse themselves for appearing in the ranks of his enemies, they would naturally tell him that they had been detained by force. This is the view taken by Mr Grote, *Hist. Greece* iii. 438 and notes.

6. ἐν δμῆρων λόγῳ—See note on λόγος, ch. 41.

ib. Θεσπίαις—As Thespieae was in Boeotia, and, Thermopylae once passed, would be at the mercy of the Persians, their best chance was to fight. The subsequent distress of the surviving Thespians is painfully illustrated by the fact that in the battle of Plataeae in the following year, they had no heavy

armour (Herod. ix. 30). After the final repulse of Xerxes, they were forced to recruit their city by the admission of new citizens (Herod. viii. 75). There was a tradition that the 80 Mycenaeans remained too, and so incurred the enmity of Argos (note on ch. 202).

7. οὐκ ἔπαυον—οὐ φησὶ is treated almost as one word, 'I refuse'.

223. 2. ἐνυχεῖν—'Having waited'; so viii. 5, τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐνυχεῖν ὥς τεύεα, 'he makes the Greeks to wait'.

ιβ. μέλιτα—See note on ch. 22, and for the whole expression, note on περὶ λύχων ἀφ' αὐτῶν, ch. 215.

3. πρόεδον ἐκείνῳ—'Began to make (imperfect tense) his attack.' A more usual sense of πρόεδρος is what 'comes in' to a city, i.e. its revenue or income. We have also in this ch. περίεδρος (l. 7) a road round, a circuit, and ἐξεδρος (l. 10) a rallying forth.

9. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξεδον—'A rush upon death', i.e. 'were only rushing forward to meet their doom'.

12. ἐφωλόευσεν—'Used to be guarded,' i.e. on the occasion of the previous fights.

ιβ. ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν—ἀπὸ literally means 'from bottom to top', exactly the reverse of κατὰ: Herod. uses it to mean 'throughout,' cf. viii. 10, ἀπὸ τὰ στρατόπεδα, also of time, as in viii. 123, τῷ ἀξιώτατῳ γενεμένῳ ἀπὸ τὸν πόλεμον, 'to the man who had showed himself most worthy throughout the war'. It is also used distributively, cf. ἐλάσαν ἀπὸ πέντε παραστήγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, 'to march at the rate of five parasangs a day': εἰσίας ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα, companies at the rate of fifty (to each), E. V. 'by fifties in a company', S. Luke ix. 14.

14. συμπόνουντες—Cf. τὴν ἢ συμπόλιν σφέας ταῖς Μήδοις, ch. 226, and note on ch. 202.

15. τέλειον—'The companies', cf. κατὰ τέλει προσβάλλοντες, ch. 211.

16. ἑρπέτιον—So Xenophon, in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, says ἐνταῦθα ἐπεγέγωνται οἱ βέλτεροι καὶ ἔβαλλον ἐσφενδύσαν ἐπὶ τὴν μάστιγαν, Anab. iii. 4. 25. It was of course to the contingents sent by the subject allies, not to the Persians themselves, that the lash was used.

18. διαφείροντο—'Were drowned'. We have had the same word used of ships being 'wrecked', in ch. 190.

19. λόγος οὐδείς—'No consideration was shown for a dying man'. Cf. iv. 135, ἀνδρας, τῶν ἦν ελάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, 'those men whose deaths were of least account'.

20. τὸν μλλοντα...ἐκ τῶν—'The death that was sure to come upon them at the hands of those...'.

22. ἀπεδείκνυντο—'Showed forth', so ἀπόδειξις is used of a rhetorical 'display'. The root is *δεικναι*, to show or point, from which come *δική* justice, Latin *judex* (= *jus-dex*) lit. 'law-pointer', *index*, *in-dic-tum* proof, *dico* I say or mark, *disco* (= *dic-sco*, I begin to mark) I learn; English *teach*. The change from *d* to English *t* is quite regular, cf. *δύω* two, *δέμω* timber, &c.

23. παραχρᾶμένοι—'Beckless of their lives', literally, 'misusing'.

224. 2. ἐτίγχανε κατηγότα—Like *ετυχον* ἔξω τεταγμένοι, ch. 208.

ib. διαργάζοντο—Latin *confecerunt*, 'dispatched'.

6. οὐνόματα—The names would be preserved at Sparta. One of the Three Hundred, named Aristodemus, who through sickness had not been present at Thermopylae, was insulted and called 'Aristodemus the coward' on his return to Sparta. He recovered his fair fame at the battle of Plataea.

8. ἄλλοι τε ... καὶ—Note on ch. 142.

ib. ἐν δὲ—'And amongst them'.

13. ἐπέδωκε—'Gave besides' (ἐπὶ), i.e. in addition to the usual dowry (πορξ).

15. ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεκροῦ—We are reminded of the struggles between the heroes in the *Iliad*, for the bodies of the slain.

225. 1. αἰθισμός—The exact nature of the position will best be realised by a quotation. 'In some parts of the column the combatants were so closely locked as to be almost unable, for a while, to give the least movement to their chargers; and whenever the red-coated horseman thus found himself in-wedged and surrounded by assailants, it was only...by seizing now and then an occasion for a thrust or a cut, that he was



able to keep himself among the living.....If this struggle bore closer resemblance to the fights of earlier ages than to those of modern times, it had also the characteristic of being less destructive than might be imagined to life and limb.' Kinglake's *Crimea*, Vol. IV. ch. 5, Narrative of the Battle of Balaklava.

2. *ἄς δ'*—‘Until,’ meaning exactly the same as *μέχρι* *οὗ* below. For the force of the prepositions in *ὑπερείκωσαν*, see note on VIII. 41.

3. *συνεστήκει*—‘This conflict was going on’, cf. ch. 142, *γνώμαι...συνεστήκειναι μάλιστα*, ‘most conflicting’.

6. *τὸ νέεσθαι*—Another of Herodotus’ poetical expressions; indeed here, in his description of this last struggle, his language has quite an Homeric cast. Not to mention the hint at the fight over the corpse of Leonidas, we have such words as *ἐτεροποιῶντο*, *παρამειψόμενοι*, *ἀλεξομένους* &c. No doubt the historian is carried away by the grandeur of the scene he is describing, and feels it to be, what it really is, Greece’s second and best epic poem. Cf. Hom. II. 12. 361, *ἐθάδε περ πόλεμος καὶ νεῖκος ὄρισεν*: 16. 362, *γίγνωσκε μάχης ἑτεραλάτα νέεσθαι*.

7. *παρამειψόμενοι*—Just as *ἀλλάσσω*, ‘I change’, in the middle comes to mean ‘I depart’, so *ἀμείβω* in the middle is ‘to leave’, ‘pass by’; cf. *Σπερχιδὸν ἀμειψόμενοι*, ch. 228.

9. *ἴκον νῦν*—These are the words of one who had evidently seen the place himself. The lion was the heraldic device of the Spartan kings, but the statue was probably not without reference to the name Leonidas.

11. *μαχαίρῃσι*—This seems to be the same weapon as the *ξίφος* in the preceding chapter; as a rule *μάχαιρα* is a knife, dirk, as distinguished from *ξίφος*, a broadsword. The word is from the same root as *μάχομαι* I cut, fight, *μάχη* battle, Latin *mactō* I slaughter, *macellum* meat-market: *macer* soft, thin, and *maceria* a wall of soft clay, are from another root, connected with *μάσσω* I knead.

16. *τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτέγγανον*—‘Those of them to whom their swords still happened to remain’.

12. *κατέκτανον*—‘The combatants on each side at this spot began to hurl against one another some of those loose pieces of rock which there strewed the ground. By some of our officers this Homeric resource was regarded as ‘unsoldierly’. Kinglake, *Crimea*, Vol. V. ch. 6, Battle of Inkerman.

226. 2. λέγεται—For the original meaning of λέγω, see note on ἀπολελεγμένοι, ch. 40. Notice the compounds ἀπολέγεσθαι to choose, διαλέγειν to separate, διαλέγεσθαι to converse, ἐπιλέγεσθαι to read (Herod.), καταλέγειν to tell a tale, συλλέγειν to collect.

6. ἀπιδῶσι—For the form, cf. ἐπιθέωνται, ch. 191, δφθέωσι, viii. 7.

ib. ἐν ἀλογίῃ—Cf. ἀλογίης ἐνεκύρησε πολλῆς, ch. 208 end.

9. πάντα ἀγαθὰ—Translate, ‘nothing but good’.

10. εἰ ἔσοιτο ἡ μάχη—‘Since the battle against them (πρὸς αὐτοὺς) would be’. The Future Optative is used only in indirect discourse after *secondary* tenses, to represent a Future Indicative of the direct discourse. Here then, εἶπεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοι...εἰ...ἔσοιτο=(in the direct) ἀγγέλλει...εἰ ἔσται.

227. 1. μετὰ τούτον—‘Next to him’, see on μετὰ τούτους, ch. 55.

ib. ἀριστεύσαι—After the war was over, the Greeks met at the Isthmus of Corinth ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιώτατῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων, viii. 123. Cf. too Soph. Ajax, 435, τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ.

3. Θεσπιδῶν—‘Of the Thespians he was most renowned’; supply a nominative out of τῷ.

228. 1. αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ—‘There, in the very place’.

2. τοῖσι τελευτήσασι—There is a slight difficulty here. Herodotus says that this first epitaph was over *all* the dead, including those who had fallen in the first days’ fighting, before Leonidas sent the bulk of the allies away. But the words of the inscription itself clearly show that it was for the *Peloponnesians* alone. Then follows one for the Spartans, as distinct from the rest of the Peloponnesians. Thus the Thespians, Thebans, Locrians and Phocians are uncommemorated by any epitaph. Herodotus has evidently fallen into a slight error.

5. ἐμάχοντο—Herodotus regards the distich as an epitaph over the *slain*, but it is clearly only an inscription in honour of *all* those Peloponnesians who fought.

6. χιλιάδες τέτορες—Herodotus has only told us of 3100 Peloponnesians (ch. 203, note) being present at the first en-

gements in the pass. But it has been stated by other writers that a body of Lacedaemonians (i.e. probably Perioeci, as distinguished from the genuine Spartan stock), 700 in number according to some, 1000 according to others, accompanied the Three Hundred. Whichever amount be accepted, it will bring the total to a figure which may well be expressed in round numbers as 4000.

9. ἀγγάλλειν—Note on μένειν, ch. 141.

10. ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι—A *varia lectio* was πειθόμενοι νομίμοις. This was probably the reading Cicero had before him, when he translated the epitaph thus:—

*Dic hospes Spartae nos te hic vidisse jacentes,  
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*

An English translator has succeeded better:—

‘Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,  
That here obedient to their laws we lie’.

15. οὐκ ἔτλη—‘Did not stoop to’, ‘had not the heart to’, cf. *μη τλῆς με προδοῦναι*, Eurip. Alc. 275. Latin *non sustinuit*; cf. Ovid, Met. vi. 605, *Sed non attollere contra Sustinet haec oculos*, ‘has not the face to raise’.

18. Σίμωνις—A lyric poet, born at Ceos, B.C. 556. He is to be distinguished from Simonides of Amorgus, who flourished about B.C. 660, and was an iambic and satiric poet. The Simonides here mentioned had been a favourite at the court of Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens, and was now the poet laureate of the day. He composed triumphal odes in honour of the victories of Salamis and Plataea, fragments of some of which are extant. He afterwards accepted an invitation to the court of Hiero, king of Syracuse, where he must doubtless have met Aeschylus, Pindar, his rival in lyric composition, and other minor celebrities. He died at Syracuse B.C. 467.

19. κατὰ ξενίην—The tie of *ξενία* was constantly formed between individuals of different nations, cf. Thuc. viii. 6, ‘Ἀλκιβιάδης (of Athens) Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι (of Sparta) πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὢν. The feeling was so strong as to become a kind of religious freemasonry, and by his epithet of *ξένιος*, Zeus himself was made the special protector of the rights of the stranger. Thus when Themistocles, in his flight from the combined anger of Sparta and Athens, came to the court of Admetus, the king’s wife bade him (her husband being absent)

τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθίξεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐστίᾳ. And when Admetus returned he did not dare to betray the suppliant, who had thus put himself under his protection (Thuc. i. 136). Cf. too Herod. vii. 39, where Xerxes, though very angry with Pythius the Lydian for his request (ch. 38), says *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας τῶν παίδων ῥύεται τὰ ξεῖνα*, i.e. the presents of hospitality given by host to guest.

## BOOK VIII.

4. 1. τότε—'At the present time', cf. vii. 228, τότε δὴ συμμίσγοντες, 'when they now engaged'.

ιβ. οἶκροι—The combined Greek fleet numbered 271 triremes and 9 penteconters. Of these the Athenians contributed 127, and the Corinthians 40, but the whole fleet was under the command of Euryblades the Spartan, although the Lacedaemonians only furnished 10 ships.

4. παρὰ δόξαν—παρὰ with the accusative means 'along-side of', and so, from the notion of two things lying side by side, 'compared with', and then 'contrary to', as here. παρὰ δόξαν ἢ ὡς is probably what is called a 'mixed construction', namely, a confusion between 'otherwise than (ἢ)', and 'contrary to the opinion they held'.

6. καταδόκιον—Simply, 'thought', cf. viii. 69, καταδόξας σφέας ἐθελοκακείειν, 'thinking they played the coward'; see on καταφρονήσαντες, ch. 10.

7. Ἀρταμιόσιον—In the territory called Histaeotis (vii. 175), at the extreme north of Euboea.

10. ὑπεκθίνονται—Ionic for ὑπεκθῶνται, from ὑπεκτίθημι.

12. τριήκοντα ταλάντοις—'Of thirty talents', ταλάντοις in apposition to μισθῷ. A talent=about £240 English.

13. ἐπ' ᾧ τε—'On condition that'. For the untranslated τε, see on ἐπεὶ τε, vii. 43. Other instances of τε being kept in relative phrases in Attic are ἄτε since, ὥστε, οὕς τε able, ἔστε until (l. 10), εὔτε when.

6. 3. περὶ δεῖλην πρώτην—δεῖλη is said to mean originally 'the hot time', i.e. just after noon, but in later prose it is used

to signify evening as distinguished from night. In its meaning of 'afternoon' it is qualified by *πρωτα* (as here) or *ὀψία* (ch. 9), while *δειλη* by itself would generally mean 'at evening time'. The root is *διδ* to shine, from which we have *διος* heavenly, *εὐδία* clear sky, *δῆλος* (= *δέελος*) clear, *Ζεὺς* (= *Διεύς*, genit. *Διός*) the god of the clear heaven, Latin *Dionis* or *Jovis*, *deus*, *divus*, *dies*, *interdiu*, *Diana*, feminine of *Dianus* or *Janus*.

7. *εἰ κως*—'In hopes that', lit. 'if by any means'.

10. *φεύγοντας*—'And night should cover their escape'; *καταλάβοι*, literally 'should overtake', cf. vii. 211, *καταλαμβάνομενοι ὑπέστρεφον*, 'turned back when overtaken': vii. 38, *καταλαμβάνει πάντας στρατεύεσθαι*.

id. *ἐμῶν*—Cf. vii. 23, *ἐμῶν σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι*, and note there.

11. *δῆθεν*—'Of course': the word is generally used ironically, like *δή* in vii. 211, *ὥς δὲ οὗτοι γε εὐπετῶς κατεργασάμενοι*.

id. *ἔδει δὲ*—'And they wanted (lit. it was necessary) not even the torch-bearer, as their phrase is, to escape and survive'. In the Spartan army the *πυρφόρος* carried the sacred fire, taken from the altar of Zeus at Sparta, which was required for the sacrifices on the march. This fire had, like the hearth of Vesta at Rome, to be kept alight at any risk, hence to defend the *πυρφόρος* came to be used as a proverb, 'to stand out to the last'.

7. 1. *πρὸς ταῦτα*—'In view of these things', 'accordingly'.

2. *ἀποκρίναντες*—'After separating out'. Notice the compounds *ἀνακρίνειν* to examine, *ἀποκρίνεσθαι* to answer, *διακρίνειν* to decide, *κατακρίνειν* to condemn, *παρακρίνεσθαι* to be drawn up, *προκρίνειν* to select, *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* to answer (Ionic), in Attic, to answer on the stage, to act a part, whence the English 'hypocrite'.

4. *Καφηρέα*—Caphareus and Geraestus were the two promontories at the extreme south of Euboea. The former was the supposed scene of the wreck of the Greek fleet on its return from Troy, misled by the beacon fires lighted by Nauplius who had lost his son Palamedes in the war. Cf. Prop. iii. 7. 39, *saxa triumphales fregere Capharea puppes*: Virg. Aen. xi. 260, *Euboicae cautes, ultorque Caphereus*.

5. *Ἐβριον*—The modern Negropont. The ancient name, connected with *βίη* blast, *βίσις* to fan, refers to the rapidity and strength of its currents.

6. *σφετε*—‘They’, i.e. the main body, left behind in the Pagasæan Gulf.

9. *ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας*—A genitive of time, cf. *χειμῶνος*, ‘in winter time’. In Greek the ablative had dropped out, and its place was supplied both by the genitive and dative (locative). Thus time *when*, was expressed either by *ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας* or, more commonly, *ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*.

10. *σφι ἐπείπευ φανήσεσθαι*—‘Should be shown them on the part of (*παρά*)’, lit. coming from.

11. *ὡς ἡκόντων*—‘To say they were come’.

8. 2. *ἦν γὰρ*—The construction is irregular; leave out *γὰρ* in the translation.

3. *δύτης*—The more usual word is *κολυμβητής*. Divers carried provisions to the Spartan army when besieged on the island of Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 26). The Athenians, too, used divers to saw away the piles driven by the Syracusans into their harbour, *τούτους (σταυροὺς) κολυμβηταὶ δύνοντο ἐξέπριον μισθοῦ* (Thuc. vii. 25). Diving for the pearl-oyster was carried on, apparently, as early as Homer’s time, cf. Il. xvi. 747, *ἀνὴρ δδε, τῆθεα διφῶν, νηὶ ἀποθρώσκει*, where *τῆθεα* is generally explained to mean a kind of oyster.

5. *τῶν χρημάτων*—‘Of their money’, note on vii. 1.

7. *εἶχε ἄρα*—‘Had, as it seems’, cf. vii. 35, *σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην δρα οὐδεὶς θύει*. For *ἐν νῶν εἶχε* cf. last ch. *οὐκ ἐν νῶν εἶχοντες*.

8. *οὐ...οὐ παρέσχε*—‘There was not opportunity for him’, cf. ch. 75, *καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον ἐξεργάσασθαι*, ‘now there is a chance for you to do’. *ἀλλὰ γὰρ* has already been noticed.

9. *τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη*—‘After this’, cf. Eur. Bacch. 1063, *τοῦντεῦθεν ἦδη τοῦ ξένου τι θαῦμ’ ὀρώ*. See ch. 98, l. 12, *τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη κατ’ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται*.

13. *σταδίους μάλιστα καὶ τούτους*—‘Accomplishing about eighty stadia in this’, lit. ‘these 80 stadia’; with the position and meaning of *τούτους*, cf. Soph. Ajax 114, *ἐπειδὴ τέρψις ᾗδε σοι τὸ δρᾶν*, ‘since thus it pleases thee to do’, *ᾗδε* agreeing with

τέρψις instead of τὸ δρᾶν: Soph. Trach. 483, ἡμαρτον, εἰ τι τήνδ' ἁμαρτίαν νέμεις, 'if thou considerest this a sin', τήνδε for τοῦτο: Aesch. Prom. 754, θανεῖν αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγή.

14. ὀγδώκοντα—'Although the usual time of remaining under water does not much exceed two minutes, yet there are instances known of divers who could remain four and even five minutes, which was the case with a Caffre boy the last time we visited the fishery. The longest instance ever known was that of a diver who came from Anjanga in 1797, and who absolutely remained under water full six minutes'. Percival's Asiatic Researches, vol. 5, quoted in Rees' Cyclopaedia.

16. μετεξέτερα—Rather a favourite word with Herod. cf. vii. 142, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι: viii. 87, οὐκ ἔχω μετεξέτερος εἰπεῖν.

17. ἀποδεδέχθω—'Let the opinion be declared by me': note on ἀποδέξας, vii. 4.

ib. πλοῖον—Herodotus is certainly right in rejecting the fable of a nine miles dive, but it is strange it should not have occurred to him that Scyllias swam the distance.

19. τήν ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο—For the construction, see note on στόλον, ὡς ἐπρῆξε, vii. 18.

9. 1. λόγον ἰδίδουσιν—'Took counsel'.

3. ἐνίκα—'It prevailed', i.e. 'it was determined', cf. ἡ νικῶσα γνώμη, vii. 175.

4. νύκτα μέσην παρέντας—'After letting midnight pass': μέσαι νύκτες is often used in the same sense, see note on ch. 76.

7. φυλάξαντες—'Waiting for', cf. i. 49, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων. In Theocritus (Alexandrine poet, flourished B.C. 280,) the word has the peculiar meaning of 'bringing with care', generally of a lover bringing a present, ἦρθον γὰρ κτήγων, ... μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσων, ii. 120: τὸν στέφανον, τὸν τοι ἐγὼν Ἀμαρυλλί φίλα κισσοῖο φυλάσσω, iii. 22, 'the garland of ivy which I bring thee'.

8. ἐπανεπλωον—'Put out to sea against', i.e. they abandoned their plan of going to meet the squadron that was sailing round Euboea, and resolved to attack the remainder of the Persian fleet that lay off Artemisium.

*ib.* ἀπόπειραν—'Wishing to make trial of them in battle'.

9. τοῦ διεκπλόου—The Athenians were especially skilful in this manœuvre. It somewhat resembled Nelson's plan of breaking through the enemy's line. They were thus enabled to charge their opponents' ships with their heavy beaks in broadside or stern, the most vulnerable parts. This required plenty of sea room, and accordingly we find that the Athenians were almost always at a disadvantage, when fighting in a narrow space, such as the harbour of Syracuse, or the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf. See Thuc. vii. 36, 'The Syracusans thought τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διεκπλουν, ὥπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον.

10. 2. πάγχυ...ἐπενείκοντες—Literally, 'thoroughly imputing madness to them': πάγχυ is an Ionic form of πάνυ. ἐπιφέρειν τιτι is 'to bring anything against anyone', cf. i. 181, τοῖσι ἀγάλματα ποιῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, 'they bring a charge of madness against those who make statues': vi. 112, μωρίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέφερον καὶ πάγχυ δλεθρίην.

4. οἰκῶτα κάρτα—'Hoping what was very probable, since they saw...'

7. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα—'Thinking this'. καταφρονεῖν usually means 'to look down upon', 'despise', but Herod., as we have already seen, uses verbs compounded with κατὰ to mean little more than the simple verb. Cf. i. 59, καταφρονήσας τυραννίδα: i. 66, καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδιον κρείσσονες εἶναι, 'thinking that they were stronger than the Arcadians': καταδοκῶ is used in the same way in chs. 4 and 69.

*ib.* ἐκκυλούντο αὐτοὺς—'Began to surround them on every side'. The manœuvre by which the Greeks counteracted this is related in the next chapter.

9. συμφορὴν ἐποιεύντο—'Were distressed'. συμφορὰ is originally anything that 'befalls', but is generally used of an *unlucky* occurrence. Cf. vii. 141, συμφορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέωτο: ch. 98, ἐπεμπε ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρούσαν σφι συμφορὴν.

10. ἐπιστάμενοι—Note on vii. 218.

12. δοιοσι ἡδομένοισι ἦν—'They, to whom what was going on (τὸ γινόμενον) was pleasant', lit. 'those to whom rejoicing the matter was'. Cf. ch. 14, ὡς σφι ἀσμένοις ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, 'when day dawned upon them, to their delight'.



Thuc. II. 3, τῷ πλήθει οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν. It is imitated in Latin; Sallust (B.C. 86—34) Jugurtha 84, *quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*: Tac. Hist. III. 43, *Maturo ceterisque remanere volentibus fuit*.

15. λαμψεται—Ionic for λήσεται, cf. ἀπολαμφθέντες, ch. VIII. 70.

ib. Ἀθηναίων—‘For the reputation of the Athenians stood highest with them’: αὐτοῖσι, i.e. with the Ionians.

11. 1. ἐσήμνη—Sc. ὁ κελευστής or ὁ σαλπικτήης; cf. σημήναντος, l. 4.

3. συνήγαγον—So as not to present the broadside, their vulnerable point, to the enemy.

4. ἔργου εἶχοντο—‘Began to apply themselves to the work’.

ib. ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ—‘Although surrounded in a narrow space’.

5. κατὰ στόμα—This answers to ἀντίπρωροι in l. 1.

11. ἐτεραλκίως—‘With doubtful issue’; the adjective ἐτεραλκίης is used by Herod. in the same sense, cf. IX. 103, ὡς εἶδον γιγνομένην ἐτεραλκία τὴν μάχην. In Homer the word is used of victory inclining to one side *more* than to the other; II. XVII. 627, Τρῶεςσι δίδου ἐτεραλκία νίκην: XVI. 863, γέγνωσκε μάχης ἐτεραλκία νίκην, always of the victory *changing* sides.

12. διόλυσε—‘Separated’. Notice the compounds ἀναλύειν to untie, ἀπολύεσθαι to ransom, καταλύειν to break down, lodge, παραλύεσθαι to be enfeebled (paralytic), ὑπολύειν to take off shoes.

14. παρὰ δόξαν—Note on ch. 4.

17. ἔργον—In a good sense, ‘exploit’, ‘achievement’; cf. ch. 88, ἐπείρεσθαι, εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον: ch. 89, ὡς ἀποδεξιμένοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεῖ.

12. 1. τῆς ὥρης—‘In season’; the genitive of time, see note on ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης, ch. 7, and cf. ch. 71, οὕτε νυκτὸς οὐτ’ ἡμέρης. ὥρα, in classical Greek, never corresponds to the English ‘hour’, but means simply a ‘season’, (1) of the year (χελματος ὥρη, Hesiod), (2) of the day (νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ, Hom.). The first attempt at marking out the day into anything like our ‘hours’, had been brought to Greece from Chaldaea (Herod. II. 109), and was effected by means of a sundial, but it does not seem to have come into general use till much later.

5. *ἐξεφορέοντο*—Cf. VII. 188, *τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἴπνους*: VII. 76, *ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναηγίων*.

6. *ταρσοὺς*—*tarsois*, conn. with *τέρσομαι*, I am dry, meant a stand for drying things, and then any flat open surface, such as the *sole* of a foot, the *blade* of an oar, the *pinion* of a wing, &c. It is from this last meaning that Tarsus in Cilicia got its name, being the fabled scene of the fall of a wing from the horse Pegasus. Kindred words are *torreo*, *torris* a torch of dry wood, *torrens* a torrent (the ideas of the rushing of a torrent and quivering of heat being similar), perhaps *terra*, the dry land as distinguished from the sea, and *testa* a jar of baked clay. *ταρδίσσω* in the same line is from a different root.

8. *κατιστάτο*—For *καθιστάναι ἐς*, see note on VII. 188.

ib. *Ἀπίζοντες*—‘Expecting’.

ib. *ἐς οἷα*—This is given in the words of the frightened soldiers, they said *ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἤκομεν*.

9. *καὶ*—For the emphatic *καὶ*, see on VII. 55.

11. *ὑπῆλαβε*—‘Came upon them’: the *ὑπὸ* conveys the idea of its being unexpected or sudden.

12. *ρέύματα ἰσχυρὰ*—‘Swollen streams’.

13. 2. *πολλὸν*—For *πολύ*: cf. *πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν*, ch. 11.

ib. *τοσοῦτῃ ὅσῳ*—‘So much the more so, as’.

4. *ἄχαρι*—i.e. ‘disastrous’; cf. *ἄχαρις συμφορὴ παιδοφόρος*, VII. 190: so *ἀνεθέλγητον* is used in VII. 133 in the sense of *δεινόν*. The figure is called *meiosis* (a lessening, from *μείων* less), i.e. a softening down; cf. Virg. Georg. III. 5, ‘*quis illaudati nescit Busiridis aras*’, where *illaudati* means ‘detested’.

5. *τὰ Κοῖλα*—‘The Hollows’. It is a question whether these lay between Caphareus and Geraestus, or inside Euboea, between Geraestus and the Euripus. They were probably a range of overhanging cliffs, hollowed out by the continuous action of the currents. See Livy XXXIX. 47, *est sinus Euboeicus quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis*: Eur. Troad. 84, *πλήσων δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν*.

7. *ἐπέπιπτον*—Cf. VII. 188, *αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπίδα περίπιπτον*.

40. 2. *θεπθέντων*—The forcing of Thermopylae by the Persians was unexpected by the majority of the Greeks, and

took them totally by surprise. Attica was completely open to the invader, and the prospect of defending it by occupying the range of Cithaeron does not seem to have been entertained. The Peloponnesians indeed, now thoroughly awake to their danger, were solely intent on defending themselves, and left Athens to her fate without a single regret.

3. *κατέσχει τὰς νῆας*—So *κατέσχον* ἐς in the next chapter, with a similar meaning.

6. *Ἀττικῆς*—The desertion was not of Athens alone, but of the whole of Attica, and was so complete that when Xerxes arrived he could not capture more than 500 prisoners.

ιβ. *βουλευσώμεθα*—‘And might take counsel besides (πρὸς) what they ought to do’. For *ἔσται* see on *παύσει*, VII. 54. The Athenians said *βουλευσώμεθα τὸ ποιητέον ἔσται*.

7. *ἐπὶ πρήγμασι*—See on VII. 132.

8. *δοκούντες εὕρησαν*—‘Thinking that they would find’. It was the occurrence of the Carneia and the Olympian games (VII. 206) that prevented the Peloponnesians assembling at Thermopylae in the first instance.

10. *τῶν μὲν*—‘Of these things they found that none was a fact (οὐδὲν ἔδν)’. For the emphatic *ἔδν*, see on *συμβαλέσθαι τὸ ἔδν*, VII. 209.

12. *περιεῖναι*—‘Were holding it of the highest importance that the Peloponnesus should be saved’. For *περιεῖναι*, ‘to survive’, lit. to be over and above, cf. VII. 188, *αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτῶν*: VIII. 6, *ἔδει μὴδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι*.

13. *ἀπνέειν*—‘And were neglecting (ἀφίημι) everything else’.

14. *οὕτω δὲ*—‘Accordingly’: the phrase often expresses the result of a number of reasons, cf. ch. 84, *οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι συνέμισγον*: ch. 6, *οὕτω δὲ κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ*.

41. 8. *Ἀθηναίων*—An Athenian who left his country without leave, in time of war, was liable to the punishment of death.

4. *τῇ...σώζαν*—‘That, wherever an Athenian could, there he should place for safety...’. *σώζειν* combines the meanings ‘to take to a place of safety’, and ‘to keep in a place of safety’. *δύναται* and *σώζειν* are in the present tense, as giving the exact words of the proclamation. Amongst those thus carried off to Salamis was the poet Sophocles, now a boy.

5. οἰκέτας—The average price of a slave seems to have been three minae (about £12), but a knowledge of any trade or art added greatly to their value. The poorest citizen at Athens possessed at least one slave; the father of Demosthenes had 50, and Nicias kept more than 1000 in his mines. These slaves were not of pure Hellenic blood, but were brought from Thrace and the interior of Asia Minor.

6. Τροιζήνα—Troezen was, like Phlius, a semi-independent town of Argolis: 'having ancient relations of religion as well as of traffic with Athens'. Grote.

7. ὑπεκθίσθαι—Herodotus seems fond of these compounds with ὑπεκ-, we have below ὑπεξέκειτο (l. 17), ὑπεκθέωνται, ch. 4, ὑπεζιώντες, vii. 223, ὑπεξείρυσαν, vii. 225. The meaning is to 'put away from out of the reach of', to 'draw out from under'; for another use of ὑπὸ in compounds, cf. ὑποκαθήμενους ch. 40, 'lying in wait for'.

ib. χρηστηρίῳ—Above, vii. 140, 141.

9. ὄφιν—The serpent was sacred to Athena, and is found with the goddess on ancient tiles and vases. It denoted the unceasing vitality of nature. Cf. the story of the 'gemini dracones' in the Aeneid, who after destroying Laocoon, *Effugiunt sacraeque petunt Tritonidis arcem, Sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur*, Virg. Aen. ii. 225—7. Aristophanes (Lysist. 709) refers to this 'guardian snake'; ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρὸν ποτε.

11. ὡς ἰόντι—Note on τὸ ἰόν, vii. 209.

ib. προτιθέντες—Compare the ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως, or shewbread.

13. ἀναισιμονμένη—'Consumed': a favourite word with Herod., used also of spending time, *ἡμέραι ἀναισιμονῶνται τεσσαράκοντα*, ii. 11, spending money, *ἐς τὴν ἑκκον ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἀναισιμονῶνται*, iii. 90, also simply 'to use', *τὸν χροῖν ἐκ τοῦ ὁρύγματος ἀναισίμω*, i. 185.

14. μᾶλλον...προθυμότερον—'With somewhat (τι) more eagerness than before'. For μᾶλλον with the comparative, cf. *ἐγνώσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον*, vii. 143.

16. ἀπολαλοῦντις—The goddess of the citadel was known by the special title of Athena Polias. When a city was doomed to destruction, its protecting gods were supposed to take their flight, e.g. from Troy, Virg. Aen. ii. 351, *Excessere*

*omnes artis adytisque relictis Di:* from Veii, Livy v. 21, *deos votis ex urbe sua evocatos...novas sedes spectare*: from Jerusalem at its destruction by Titus, A.D. 70, Tacitus, Hist. v. 13, *audita major humana vox, excedere deos*. Josephus (A.D. 87—100) gives the very words, *μεταβαλῶμεν ἐν τεύθειν*. Cf. Milton, 'Apollo from his shrine can no more divine, With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving', Ode on the Nativity.

17. *ὑπεξέκειτο*—The passive of *ὑπεκθέσθαι* above. 'In the years 1821 and 1822, during the struggle which preceded the liberation of Greece [from the Turks] the Athenians were forced to leave their country and seek refuge in Salamis three several times. A century and a half ago, also, in the war between the Turks and Venetians, the population of Attica was forced to emigrate to Salamis, Aegina and Corinth'. Grote.

56. 1. *ὡς ἔσχε*—'In what condition were', note on *ἔχω* (1), VII. 60.

4. *κυρωθῆναι*—'To be settled': *οὐδὲ* (Lat. *ne...quidem*) goes with *ἔμενον*.

5. *ἑσέπικτον*—Notice the succession of imperfects, 'began to hurry on board'.

8. *νύξ τε...καὶ οἱ*—For other instances of the idiom, see on VIII. 64.

*ιβ. διαλυθέντες*—The active *διέλυσε* occurred in ch. 11.

9. *ἑσέβαινον*—'Now was felt the want of a position like that of Thermopylae, which had served as a protection to all the Greeks at once, so as to check the growth of separate fears and interests. We can hardly wonder that the Peloponnesian chiefs should manifest such an obstinate reluctance to fight at Salamis. On the other hand, Salamis...could not be abandoned without breaking up the unity of the allied fleet; since Megara and Aegina would thus be left uncovered, and the contingents of each would immediately retire for the defence of their own homes,—while the Athenians also...would be in like manner distracted from combined maritime efforts at the Isthmus'. Grote, Hist. Greece, Part II. Ch. 41.

57. 4. *δεδογμένον*—Cf. VII. 12, *δεδογμένων οἱ αὐτοὶ τούτων*. ch. 13, *ὡς ὦν μεταδεδογμένον μοι*.

8. *τρέπονται*—Cf. VII. 219, *διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο*, of the Greeks whom Leonidas sent away from Thermopylae.

10. οὐ μὴ—See on μὴ οὐ, vii. 5.

11. ἀβουλῆσι—Cf. vii. 210, ἀναδείη τε καὶ ἀβουλῆ δια-  
χρεώμενοι.

12. ἦν κως—Cf. εἰ κως ἔλασεν αὐτάς, ch. 6.

13. ἀναγνώσαι—‘To persuade’, used in this meaning only in Herod. and other Ionic writers. The verb is generally used with reference to writing, to ‘know it again’, i.e. to ‘read’. Notice the compounds ἀπογιγνώσκειν to despair of, ἀσقيν, ἐπιγιγνώσκειν to recognise, διαγιγνώσκειν to distinguish, καταγιγνώσκειν to condemn, μεταγιγνώσκειν to change one’s mind, συγγιγνώσκειν to acknowledge, pardon.

ib. μεταβουλεύσασθαι—Cf. vii. 12, μετὰ δὲ βουλευέαι, ὦ Πέρσα.

58. 2. ἀμαψάμενος—The word means to ‘change’, and so, as here, to interchange question and answer, to ‘reply’: in vii. 228 it is used of place, to change one’s position, i.e. to ‘pass by’; cf. the use of ἀπαλλάττεσθαι in vii. 142 and elsewhere meaning to ‘depart’.

4. σύμμιξαι—See note on vii. 203.

7. περιζόμενος—A minute description like this would seem to indicate that possibly Herodotus was indebted for his account of this interview to none other than Themistocles himself. The whole story of the battle of Salamis and of the intrigues that preceded it, is given with such circumstantial clearness as to make it sure that Herodotus had for his informant some one who was closely concerned with them.

8. ἰωνοῦ ποιούμενος—‘Making them his own’, pretending that he himself originated the idea.

9. χρητῆων—‘By his importunity’, lit. ‘wishing’.

59. 2. τὸν λόγον τῶν ἐνεκα—‘The story of the reasons’, lit. ‘the story of the things on account of which’.

3. πολὺς ἦν—As we say, ‘was full of words’: cf. vii. 158, Γέλων πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο: ix. 91, πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξείνος: Demosth. (B.C. 385—322) 272, ἀνεμος πολὺς ἐπνει καὶ λαμπρός.

ib. οἶα—Cf. vii. 141, ἀτὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα.

6. ἀγῶσι—The Greeks had four great celebrations of nay tional games, (1) the Olympian, held every four years at Olympia in Elis, in honour of Zeus, (2) the Pythian, held ever-

four years at Delphi in honour of Apollo, (3) the Nemean, held at Nemea (between Corinth and Argos) in honour of Heracles, (4) the Isthmian, celebrated on the Isthmus of Corinth in honour of Poseidon.

6. *προξανιστάμενοι*—Notice the force of the *three* prepositions.

7. *ἀπολυνόμενος*—‘*Trying to excuse himself*’.

8. *στεφανεύνται*—At the Olympian games, the garland was made of wild olive (*κότινος*) cut from a sacred tree that grew in the Altis or sacred grove at Olympia.

64. 1. *ἀκροβολιστάμενοι*—For the metaphor which expresses this ‘wordy war’ cf. VIII. 78, *ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός*: Aesch. *Supp.* 446, *γλώσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια*: cf. *nescio quod vos velitati estis inter vos* (Plautus).

8. *ἡμέρη τε...καί*—For the idiom, and its explanation, see note on VII. 23. Other instances are found in VII. 12, *νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑρῆα ἐκνίξε ἡ γνώμη*: VII. 217, *ἥως τε δὴ διεφαίνε, καὶ ἐγένοντο*: VIII. 56, *νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσέβαιον*: particularly IV. 181, *παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται*, ‘as soon as midnight is past, it grows cold’, of a variable spring of water in Africa.

4. *ἐγένετο...ἐγένετο*—Notice again the different meaning of the imperfect and aorist, ‘day was dawning’ (continuous act), ‘an earthquake happened’ (momentary act). So in I. 2, *ἐπεὶ ἔδοξε παρεσκευάζοντο*: I. 7, *ὡς ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησεν*.

5. *καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ*—‘We saw a white line of foam coming on which rapidly passed us without doing any harm, as our boat rose easily over the wave. At short intervals ten or a dozen others overtook us with great rapidity, and then the sea became perfectly smooth as it was before. I concluded at once that these must be earthquake waves...some time afterwards I learnt that an earthquake had been felt on the coast of Gilo the very day we had encountered these curious waves’. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 539.

6. *τοὺς Αἰακίδας*—Telamon and Ajax, the tutelary heroes of Salamis, were supposed to be son and grandson of Aeacus.

7. *ὡς...καί*—This may be either a shortened form of *ὡς ἔδοξε, οὕτω καί...*, ‘as it seemed good, so also...’, or *ὡς* may be used in the temporal sense, ‘when’, and *καί* may be emphatic, strengthening *ἐποίησεν*.

9. ἐπὶ Ἀλακῶν—'To fetch Aeacus', i.e. his image, believing that the hero himself would thus help them in the fight. On a former occasion when the Thebans were at war with the Athenians, the former had borrowed these images of the Aea-cidae from the Aeginetans to help them, but they found them no use, and returned the images with a request that the Aegi-netans would send them men instead (Herod. v. 80, 81). The Spartans had two similar images of the Tyndaridae, Castor and Pollux, one of which, in time of war, accompanied the one king to the field, while the other stayed at home with the second king. A singular parallel to this supposed power of help on the part of these Aeacidae, is the effect produced on the armies of the Israelites by the presence of the ark of the covenant: cf. 1 Sam. iv. 3, 'Let us fetch the ark of the co-venant of the Lord out of Shiloh unto us, that, when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies'. Something, perhaps, of the same idea is seen in the custom for armies on the march to take with them sacred fire, taken from the altar of some God, see note on πυρφόρος, ch. 6.

71. 5. ὡς τάχιστα—Lat. *cum primum*, 'as soon as'.

10. τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν—The isthmus is about four miles wide at its narrowest point. This road led from Megara to Corinth, along its eastern side; it is now called Kaki Scali, i.e. *Via mala*. Its ancient name was derived from a robber who was said to infest it, and who killed travellers by pushing them off the rocks into the sea, until he was slain by Theseus. There is another route across the Isthmus, but the Greeks would naturally break up this (the easternmost) first, to prevent the Persian land army from co-operating with the fleet.

11. οἰκοδόμεον τεῖχος—οἰκοδομέω, 'I build a house', has become generalized into the meaning 'I build'; cf. οἰόφρων πέτρα, a lonely (-minded) rock, ἱπποκόμος καμήλων, νέκταρ ἐψωροῦ<sup>1</sup>.

14. πλίνθοι—The word is the same as the English *flint*, and perhaps λίθος and the Latin *later* are connected. There are the proverbs πλίνθον πλύνειν and *laterem lavare*, of a hopeless task.

ιβ. φορμοί—'Rush-baskets', lit. 'carriers', from φέρω.

15. ἐλύνον—See on vii. 56, ἐλυνύσας οὐδένα χρόνον: cf.

<sup>1</sup> Farrar, Gk. Syntax, § 5.



Theocr. x. 51, ἐλυνῶσαι δὲ τὸ καῦμα, 'to take a siesta in the heat of the day'.

74. 1. **συνέστασαν**—'Were engaged in'. We have already had several peculiar uses of **συνίστημι**, cf. vii. 142, γινώμαι συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα: vii. 225, τοῦτο συνεστήκει μέχρι οὗ: add the following, vii. 170, λῖμψ συνεστεῶτες, 'entangled with, overcome by famine', Lat. *fame confecti*: ix. 89, λῖμψ συστάντες καὶ καμάτῳ.

2. **δρόμον θέοντες**—The metaphor comes naturally from a Greek who so constantly saw the races in the stadium: cf. such phrases as κάμπτεω διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον, Aesch. Ag. 344, 'to retrace one's steps': βίου βαλβίδες (Eurip.), 'the end (lit. goal) of life': ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες, Herod. viii. 102.

3. **ἐλλάμψεσθαι**—Lit. 'to be shone upon', i.e. would win themselves honour; cf. τῷ ἱππικῷ ἐλλάμπεσθαι, i. 80.

4. **ὁμῶς**—With ἀρρώδεον: notice the difference of accent between ὁμῶς equally, and ὁμως nevertheless.

7. **ἔως μὲν δὴ**—'For some time indeed', answered by τέλος δέ, 'but at last'.

8. **ἀβουλίην**—Governed by θῶμα ποιούμενοι which equals θαυμαζόμενοι.

9. **σύλλογος**—The word always means a special, extraordinary meeting.

10. **οἱ μὲν**—A nominative absolute, cf. Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Αἰγυπῆται, below, and a very marked instance in ch. 98, ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένοι.

75. 8. **πέμπει**—Aeschylus in his tragedy *The Persians*, which tells of the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis, refers to this, but says the messenger was a Greek: ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλληνα ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σὺ Ξέρηϊ τῷδε, ὥς...Ἕλληνες οὐ μένοιν (Pers. 361—4).

5. **τὰ χρεὼν λέγειν**—i.e. ἃ χρεὼν ἦν λέγειν, cf. vii. 17, ἀποτρέπων τὸ χρεὼν γενέσθαι.

6. **παιδαγωγός**—The slave who held this office in the household of all wealthy Greeks was not a teacher, and so did not in the least correspond to the modern 'pedagogue', but was a kind of personal attendant, or head steward. It was his business to accompany the boys to the gymnasium, or to the

school of the διδάσκαλος, and to see that they kept out of mischief on the way. The word 'page' is said to be a corruption of παιδαγωγός.

8. ἐπεδέκοντο—This was after the war was over, when the Thespians had lost so many of their citizens that they were forced to enrol fresh inhabitants from elsewhere.

10. πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς—Aeschylus, with a poet's love of effect, makes Sicinnus deliver his message to Xerxes himself.

12. φρονέων τὰ βασιλῆος—'To favour the Great King's side', cf. τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας, 'those who favour your side', l. 19.

15. παρέχα—See on οὗ οἱ παρέσχε, ch. 8.

17. περιῦδητε—περιορᾶν means 'to look all round a thing', 'to look everywhere but in the right place', and so 'to neglect', 'disregard'. With διαδράντας cf. vii. 210, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφας ἀποδρῆσθαι.

19. τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας—It is hardly possible, as some have thought, that Themistocles, at this early period of his career, saw the chance of a double meaning being attached to this secret message, and of afterwards being able to found on it a claim upon the Persians, as though it had been sent to them in perfect good faith. However that may have been, he certainly gained credit from both sides, from the Greeks, who at the close of the war gave him the ἀριστεία, and from the Persians, with whom he took refuge when compelled to live in exile (B.C. 466); cf. Thuc. i. 137, γράψας (to Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes) τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως.

76. 3. τοῦτο μὲν—'First of all', answered by τοῦτο δέ, 'next', in l. 6; cf. ch. 88, beginning.

ib. Ψυττάλειαν—The present Lipsokutáli, about a mile long, and 200 or 300 yards wide. Aeschylus' description of it is, νῆσός τις ἔστι πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων, βαίᾳ, δύσσορμος ναυσί, Persae, 447, 8.

6. μέσαι νύκτες—Herodotus generally uses the plural meaning simply 'mid night', cf. iv. 181, παρέρχονται τέ μέσαι νύκτες: the singular does occur, cf. ch. 9, νύκτα μέσῃν παρέντας. The Greeks divided the night into three νύκτες or night-watches, the second of which was called μέσαι.

ιβ. ἀνῆγον...κυκλοῦμενοι—'Put to sea the westernmost wing, shutting them (the Greeks) in'; *κέρας* accusative after ἀνῆγον. Or *κέρας* being a 'noun of multitude' may be nominative to ἀνῆγον, κυκλοῦμενοι agreeing with the verb rather than with the noun. The position of the two fleets, both before and after this movement, must be carefully studied on a map.

8. Κίον...Κυνόσουραν—Probably places on the island of Salamis. Cynosura seems to be the extreme eastern promontory.

9. Μουνυχίης—Opposite Cynosura, on the mainland of Attica.

12. δοῖεν τίσιν—Like the Latin *dare poenas*, 'to suffer punishment', lit. to give, afford, satisfaction.

14. τῶν Περσέων—'Some of the Persians', a partitive genitive, cf. Hom. Od. ix. 224, ἑταροὶ λίσσονται ἐπέεσσιν τυρῶν αἰνυμένους λέραι, 'my comrades besought me that they might take of the cheeses and go'.

15. ἔξισομένων—Cf. ἐξεφορέοντο, ch. 12, note.

16. ἐν δὴ πόρῳ—'Exactly in the path'. For the force of see note on vii. 12.

18. περιποιῶσι—'Might save their own men (τοὺς μὲν)': cf. vii. 52, ἐπὶ τούτοις (for this purpose) ἡ στρατιὰ ἐγένετο, διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι. So Aeschylus (Pers. 452), ὅπως κτείνουσιν εὐχέλρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν, φίλους δ' ὑπεκσώζουσιν ἑταλίων πόρων.

84. 2. ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνακρούοντο—'Began to back water', lit. 'were pushing themselves back towards the stern', cf. Thuc. vii. 38, προσπλέοντες καὶ ἀνακρούμενοι, where the verb alone has the same meaning. The ἀνέκρουσις, or steady retreat with prow still pointed to the enemy, is to be distinguished from the ἀναστροφή or flight.

3. Ἀμεινίης—He is said to have been a brother of Aeschylus: Pallene was a deme of Attica.

4. ἐξαναχθεῖς—i.e., 'sailing out in front of the line'.

6. οὕτω δὴ—Note on ch. 40.

9. ἀποδημήσασαν—The verb means 'to be away from home', then 'to leave one's proper place', here simply, 'which had been away'. For κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλακίδας, see note on κατὰ, vii. 23.

10. *τὴν ἀρξασαν*—Aeschylus, who ought to know the truth, if Ameinias was really his brother, says simply *ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνική ναῦς*.

11. *φανείσαν*—A 'construction according to the sense', like *κέρας...κυκλοῦμενοι* in ch. 76. The *φάσμα* would probably be considered the goddess Athena.

13. *ὦ δαιμόνιοι*—So too we have *ὦ μακάριε*, *ὦ θαυμάσιε*, *ὦ λῶστε* &c., in Plato. The meaning in each case seems to depend on the tone of voice with which the words are spoken; here there is a touch of indignation and reproof, while in Herod. iv. 126, *δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν* is 'wretched man!' (impatiently), and in vii. 48 the same words betoken surprise.

ib. *ἔτι*—A better reading is *ἐπὶ*, so that the phrase corresponds to *ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ ἀνεκρούοντο* above.

86. 2. *ἐκεπαίξω*—Probably not derived from *κέρας* a horn or beak of a ship, but connected with *κείρω* I cut, see note on *ἐκείρε*, vii. 131.

4. *Αἰγινήτων*—Ever since about 508 B.C., Athens and Aegina had been in constant warfare, which had been carried on so indecisively that no regular peace had ever been concluded. In the Persian invasion, ten years before that here related, Aegina had openly medized, but after the battle of Marathon and retreat of the Persians, the Athenians invaded Aegina. Still their success was not complete, and it was probably the close proximity of so powerful a neighbour that had made Athens so well furnished both with land and sea forces.

6. *ἔμελλε*—'Was sure', cf. vii. 23, *ἔμελλέ σφι τοιοῦτο ἀποβήσεσθαι*.

8. [*καὶ ἐγένοντο*]*—*The words in brackets are probably spurious.

ib. *ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν*—'Better than their wont', or, as we say, 'surpassed themselves'. This insertion of parts of *ἑωυτοῦ* is found (1) after superlatives, ii. 8, *τῇ αὐτῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον* (τὸ ὄρος): (2) more rarely, after comparatives, ii. 25, *ὁ πόταμος ῥέει αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ὑποδέστερος*, 'below its usual level'.

10. *δειμαίων*—Their terror was not misplaced, for Xerxes after the battle had several Phoenician captains executed on the spot, for supposed neglect of duty.

87. 1. μεταξέτερους—For other instances of the use of this word, see on ch. 4.

4. Ἀρτεμισίην—She was queen of Halicarnassus, Herodotus' native city, which perhaps accounts for his circumstantial account of her adventure.

ib. μᾶλλον ἔτι—She had gained the esteem of Xerxes by the advice she gave at a council held before the battle, which advice, unfortunately for himself, the king did not follow.

7. καὶ ἡ—See on καὶ ὅς, vii. 18. Another instance of the nominative absolute.

9. πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων—'Lying near the enemy', lit. 'from the enemy', the Greek idea being, when a thing at a distance is spoken of, to regard ideas about it as coming from that distance, e.g. 'foreign affairs' is τὰ ἔξωθεν, i.e. 'things from outside'; 'the men in the city' is οἱ ἔσωθεν τῆς πόλεως: so in ch. 88, l. 12, τῶν ἐκ τῆς νηὸς='those in the ship'; ch. 114, οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης='those in Sparta': cf. τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρας κέρας, ch. 76, 'the westernmost wing', lit. 'the wing counting from the west'.

10. συνήνεκε—συνφέρει generally means simply 'it turns out', whether well or ill, cf. ch. 88, τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι: ch. 86, ἐμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι; but it is often used in the sense of 'something turning out well', as here, and in ix. 87, οὐ οἱ συνήνεκε τὸ ἔχθος.

11. φέρουσα—φερομένη would be more usual, as in vii. 210, ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι.

13. Καλυνδέων—Calynda was in Caria, Herod. vii. 98.

14. ἔτι...ἰόντων—'When they still were'.

16. συνεκίρησε—Grote remarks that the sinking of the Calyndian ship was not likely to have been an accident, as its destruction was so complete.

18. εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη—See on ἐχρέωντο, vii. 141.

20. ἐμβάλλουσιν—The old Athenian plan of 'ramming' the enemy's ship seems likely to be revived in the ironclads of the present day.

88. 1. διαφυγείν—'To get clear off', like διαδρᾶναι, ch. 75, 'to escape by running'; διαγορεύειν, vii. 38, 'to tell out', 'tell the whole story', διακινδυνεύειν, vii. 220, 'to risk to the end'; διαπειλεῖν, vii. 15, 'to threaten soundly'.

3. ἐργασαμένην—For the emphatic aorist, see on πρήξας, VII. 38.

5. θεούμενον—Xerxes viewed the battle from a throne set up on Mt. Aegaleos, on the mainland of Attica, exactly opposite Salamis.

9. φάναι ἐπισταμένους—‘Declared that they knew’.

ib. τὸ ἐπίσημον—It seems probable that this means Artemisia’s flag or ensign, decorated with her crest, that flew at the mast-head, and is to be distinguished from the παράσημον or figure-head of the ship. A ship took its name from the παράσημον it carried, which often represented a tutelary god; thus the παράσημον of St Paul’s ship, which carried him from Melite to Puteoli, was the Διδασκουροι (E. V. ‘Castor and Pollux’), the special protectors of sailors (*quorum simul alba nautis stella refulsit*, Hor.). Ovid sailed to Pontus in a ship dedicated to Minerva, but called after her helmet: *est mihi flavae tutela Minervae navis, et a picta casside nomen habet*, Trist. I. 10. 1—2. Some of the Samian ships were decorated with the figure of a boar’s head, cf. Herod. III. 59, τῶν νεῶν καπλοὺς ἐχουσέων τὰς πρύρας ἡκρωτηπλασῶν (sawed off). When the ships were captured in battle, their figure-heads were hung up in the temple of some god; thus the Aeginetans, who defeated the Samian ships just mentioned, ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίῳ. The *rostra* at Rome took its name from the beaks of the captured vessels with which it was hung.

11. τὰ τε ἄλλα...καί—‘Amongst other things...also’, see on VII. 142.

12. καὶ τὸ...γενέσθαι—‘The fact that no one was saved and became her accuser’.

15. γεγόνασι γυναῖκες—One is reminded of Remulus’ indignant insult, *O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges*, Virg. Aen. IX. 617, itself a copy of Homer’s ὦ πέποιες, κάκ’ ἐλέγχε’, Ἀχαιίδες, οὐκέρ’ Ἀχαιοί (II. II. 235).

89. 1. πόντος—See on VII. 190.

ib. ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε—By tmesis for ἀπέθανε μὲν: with ἀπὸ δὲ following, supply ἔθανον.

4. τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων—Not ‘of the other allies’, for the Persians and Medes counted as a single nation, but ‘of the allies besides’, cf. Ἀθῆναι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι, ‘Athens and the islands besides’: οὐκ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον, Xen. Anab. I.

5, 'no grass or tree at all': *ἄμα τῇγε* (the princess Nausicaa) *καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι*, Hom. Od. vi. 84.

7. *μή*—We should certainly expect *οὐ*, in such a direct statement of fact, since *μή* generally expresses a *supposed*, *οὐ* an *actual* negative. See next ch., l. 7.

*ib.* *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ*—A poetical expression, lit. 'in the law of hands', i.e. 'in the conflict of battle': cf. ix. 48, *ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπικέσθαι*, and the Latin *conserere manus*.

9. *διεφθάρησαν*—Cf. vii. 223, *ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν*, *καὶ διεφθείροντο*.

12. *ἔργον*—For the special sense of this word, see on ch. 11.

13. *περιέπιπτον*—Cf. vii. 188, *περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον*. Aeschylus describes this fatal entanglement of the Persian ships one with another; *αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβόλαις χαλκοστόμοις παύοντ' ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον*, 'Ἑλληνικαὶ δὲ κῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον, Persae 415—8.

97. 2. *ὑποθῆται*—'Should suggest', cf. ch. 58, *κάρτα δὴ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη*.

5. *κινδυνεύσει*—The verb means (1) to run a risk, (2) to incur the chance of, as here, 'fearing that he would probably be slain'; cf. iv. 105, *κινδυνεύουσι γόητες εἶναι*, 'they probably are rogues'. For the change of mood (*ὑποθῆται...κινδυνεύσει*), cf. ch. 70, *ἀρρώδεον, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν...ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν νικηθέντες δὲ, πολιορκήσονται*: vii. 208, *ιδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὃ τι ποιέοιεν*.

6. *μή...μήτε*—*μή* is again irregular, as in the preceding ch.; perhaps here it may be explained by observing that *θέλων* practically = 'trying to prevent', and verbs of preventing and the like are always followed by *μή*.

8. *χῶμα διαχοῦν*—Alexander afterwards reduced Tyre in a similar way (B.C. 332), but with extreme difficulty, as the Tyrians several times burnt and destroyed the mole.

10. *ἀρτέετο*—Cf. vii. 143, *οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι*: viii. 76, *ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς παραρτέοντο*.

12. *ἐπιστάετο*—'Felt sure', cf. vii. 218, *ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφεας ὠρμήθησαν*.

13. *Μαρδόνιον*—Mardonius ultimately was left behind with

the land forces in Greece, while Xerxes and the fleet returned home. He was slain in the following year at Plataea.

14. τῆς διανοίας—The Persian defeat, although severe, was by no means a sufficient excuse for this hasty resolve on the part of Xerxes. But the personal timidity so common to Eastern monarchs overcame him, and he was only too glad to hurry home, his retreat covered by the flatteries of those who told him he had accomplished the main object of his expedition by burning Athens.

98. 1. τι ἔμα...καί—See on ch. 64.

4. παραγίνεται—Not the same as the simple γίνεται, but ‘goes to its goal’, ‘travels’.

6. λέγουσι γάρ—For this γάρ at the beginning of a story, untranslated in English, see note on VII. 4.

7. διστάσει—‘Stand at intervals’: notice the compounds ἀνίστασθαι rise up, ἀφίστασθαι stand aloof, revolt, ἐξίστασθαι be out of one’s mind (Eng. *ecstasy*), συνίστασθαι meet, ὑφίστασθαι submit.

9. μή οὐ—Note on VII. 5.

10. τὴν ταχίστην—sc. δῶν, i. e. ‘by the quickest way’, ‘with all speed’, an adverbial accusative, see on τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, VII. 60.

12. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη—Cf. ch. 8, ὅτε τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἦδη ἀπῆκετο.

14. ἡ λαμπαδηφορία—There is some difficulty in understanding accurately the exact conditions of the torch-race, which was one of the most popular public games at Athens. There seems to have been a string of runners, who handed on the same torch one to another, like the messengers here. But if this was all, how could it be called a race, and who would be the winner? It has been supposed<sup>1</sup> that there were several chains of runners, each chain having a separate torch, and those being the winners who succeeded in first passing it to the goal still alight. Thus there would be no one individual winner, but the victors would be all the links of one chain. This interpretation agrees with the well-known line in the Agamemnon, *νικᾷ δ’ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν*, i. e. ‘the first to take up the running and the last are victors alike’, καὶ τελευταῖος standing for καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος.

Liddell in Smith’s Dict. of Antiquities.



15. τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ—Besides this one in honour of Hephaestus, there were other torch races to Prometheus, Athena, and Pan; Prometheus and Hephaestus being specially connected with the gift of fire to man and its practical uses.

15. ἀγγαρήϊον—Thus Aeschylus calls the system of beacon fires which announced to Clytemnestra the capture of Troy, ἀγγαρον πῦρ. From the power of pressing people into their service that these couriers had, the verb ἀγγαρεύω has the simple meaning of 'to compel', and is thus used in S. Matt. v. 41, ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἐν: xxvii. 32, τοῦτον ἡγγάρευσαν ἵνα ἀρῇ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, 'him they compelled to bear his cross'.

99. 2. οὕτω δὲ τι—'To such an extent'; τι goes closely with οὕτω, but has not much appreciable force in translation; cf. however Herod. iv. 52, κρήνη, οὕτω δὲ τι ἐούσα πικρή; and its use in the phrases ἥττον τι, 'somewhat less', οὐδέν τι, 'not at all', so καὶ τι καὶ in Thuc., e.g. i. 107, καὶ τι καὶ ὑποψία, 'and in part from suspicion': so τὸ δέ τι in the same ch., τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπήγον.

4. ἐστόρεσαν—See on vii. 54.

5. ἦσαν ἐν—Note on vii. 203.

7. συνέχεε—'Confounded', or, as we say, 'upset': cf. vii. 142, συνεχέοντο αἱ γνώμαι.

8. βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ—Outward signs of grief are much more common with eastern than with western nations; with us it is considered unmanly to give vent to one's emotion. Thus tears are no reproach to Achilles, when his mother finds him weeping by the sea (Il. i. 249), or to the Greeks who παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀεστενάχοντο γοῶντες (Il. 18. 315). Virgil, too, is quite in keeping with this feeling when he makes Aeneas confess, *obstupui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit* (Aen. iii. 48).

9. ἀχθόμενοι—For the emphatic participle, see on ἀνατιθεῖς, vii. 54.

10. περὶ αὐτῷ—Notice περὶ with all three cases, περὶ τῶν νεῶν, περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ, περὶ Πέρσας.

11. τὸν πάντα χρόνον—See note on ταύτην ἡμέραν, vii. 54.

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